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Annals of India
for the year 1848
by George Buist

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ANNALS OF INDIA

FOR THE YEAR 1848.

AN OUTLINE OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS
WHICH HAVE OCCURRED IN THE
BRITISH DOMINIONS IN INDIA
FROM 1st JANUARY 1848
TO THE END OF THE
SECOND SEIKH WAR
IN MARCH 1849.

WITH A PREFATORY NOTICE OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES
WHICH LED TO OUR CONNECTION WITH
THE PUNJAUB.

29729 ac

BY GEORGE BUIST, LLD., F.R.S. L. & E., F.G.S. &c.

S.S.9.10

BOMBAY:
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1849.

ERRATA.

In page 2 of the Narrative the following formidable errors occur. The Sikh army is said to have been reduced from 200,000 to 32,000: it ought to have been from 85,000 to 32,000.—Lower down our income is said to have been encreased by £56,000 derived from the Ceded Districts, and £22,000 from the Lahore indemnity: a cypher has in both cases been omitted—the numbers ought to be £560,000 and £220,000: the context indicates the blunder.

NOTICE.

For many years I have had in contemplation the publication, at the commencement of each year, of a short historical outline of the events which had occurred during the preceding twelvemonth in our Eastern Dominions,—in the hope that by this means somewhat more correct views might be attained of the proceedings of the British Government in India than are generally to be met with at home. The publication in 1843 of the "Narrative of the Campaigns in Affghanistan and Scinde betwixt November 1838 and November 1842," was an imperfect attempt to carry a portion of the project referred to into effect. Circumstances which have hitherto interfered with the fulfilment of the purpose adverted to, having been surmounted, the following short narrative is the result.

The great proportion of the facts wrought into and embodied in the narrative have been supplied by the correspondence of the *Delhi Gazette*, which has been carefully abridged and arranged in order; and the writers of this very excellent journal are requested to accept of my most grateful acknowledgments for the assistance thus afforded. The language of the *Gazette* has on a few occasions been adopted unaltered. For the rest I have drawn largely on the *Overland Summary* of the *Bombay Times*,—a paper chiefly circulated in Europe. I preferred issuing my narrative promptly [illegible] while the interest of the subject of [illegible]

pinned my faith to a forthcoming Blue Book. It happens, besides, that histories of Indian affairs are often written subsequent to the publication of the Parliamentary papers, by writers who have never examined the statements these contain: a very large portion of what passes current at home for the history of the past three administrations is invalidated by the statements of the parties chiefly affected by them. The administration of Sir R. PEEL is still charged with the abandonment of Affghanistan, though it is five years since the publication of the despatches proving that this was determined on by Lord AUCKLAND within forty-eight hours of his hearing of the Ghilzie insurrection. Lord ELLENBOROUGH is commended for the first dispatch of troops across the Indus—for the rescue of our prisoners,—and for the Conquest of Scinde,—though his own despatches show that all the troops ever sent beyond our frontier were on their way before he reached India at all—that he issued four general orders for their immediate and unconditional recall—and that when Cabool was captured he ordered military operations to cease without taking any notice of the prisoners. Scinde was taken by Sir CHARLES NAPIER in defiance of the most emphatic instructions: the Governor-General sanctioned the violation of his orders after the conquest. Young Egypt is still supposed at home to yield a large revenue to the State, when the official accounts show that it costs us betwixt half a million and a million annually.

Into whatever errors I may chance to fall from want of official information, I am not likely to commit any of such magnitude as those enumerated, and I may have the opportunity hereafter of rectifying any mistakes into which I may fall, by reference to authority. Where early information is pre-eminently desirable, a writer on the spot in the habit of discussing public affairs, and not blinded by any prejudices of his own, may hope to make a nearer approach to facts than th[illegible] removed from the scene of action, and to whom the events treate[illegible]

[illegible] a short preliminary notice

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INTRODUCTION.

I.—The country known by the name of the PUNJAUB, and which has now become a portion of the British Dominions in India, is so called from the Five Rivers which flow through it, or bound it. It is bounded on the North-west by the Indus—on the East and South by the Sutlej—the two meeting at an acute angle at Mithenkote. The base of the triangle facing the North-East is closed up by a continuation of the vast mountain range which constitutes the Hindoo Caucasus or Koosh. Peshawur and the Derajat, conquered from the Affghans, are the only provinces beyond the Indus which belong to it. It is divided by its rivers into five sections: the sector-shaped spaces betwixt the rivers from the point of confluence upwards, are called Doabs—as the Jullundhur Doab, betwixt the Sutlej and Beas—the Baree Doab, betwixt the Beas and Ravee—the Retchna Doab, betwixt the Ravee and Chenaub—the Jetch Doab, betwixt the Chenaub and Jhelum—and the Sinde Sagor Doab, betwixt the Ravee and Jhelum and the Indus. The climate, soil, and character of the country, are as various as can be imagined—extending, as it does, from the verge of the burning deserts of Scinde to the snowy mountains of Affghanistan and Cashmere. It comprises an area of about 300,000 square miles, contains a population of about five millions of inhabitants, and yields a revenue of betwixt a million and a million and a half a year. The rivers which bound or traverse it are mostly navigable for some 100 miles at least above their common junction, and the extent of inland navigation in the country amounts to nearly 2,000 miles. The sect of the Seikhs was founded by NANAC, a holy man or Gooroo, who flourished in the end of the fifteenth century. Their faith was originally a pure deism—they believed in the transmigration of souls, and consider the cow sacred. They have no restriction, save in the matter of beef, on either meats or drinks. They differ from pure Hindoos in the renunciation of caste, and the admission of proselytes, and consider it a religious duty to betake themselves to arms. Their sacred book is called Grunth, and their war-cry is "Victory to the Gooroo." The Seikhs indulge in the grossest debauchery—their hatred of Mahomedans is inveterate. During the latter part of the last century the Punjaub was repeatedly possessed or overrun by the Affghans, when at length the Seikh Chiefs, rising into eminence, and acting with concert, were able to maintain the country against their enemies. The country first acquired a name and position under the late ruler RUNJEET SINGH, the son of a Chief of considerable eminence. He was born in 1780, and succeeded to power on the demise of his father in 1791. He was brought up wholly uninstructed—he could neither read nor write, and his youth was spent in the wildest and most brutal debaucheries. At the age of seventeen he caused the assassination of his mother, then acting as Regent: he dimissed the Regency, and assumed absolute power. The Punjaub was twice invaded by the SHAH ZEMAN of Cabool betwixt 1795 and 1797—the Seikh Chiefs on both occasions retiring before the enemy. RUNJEET SINGH crossed the Sutlej with the rest, and employed his time in making inroads on the Sirhind States and raising contributions. On the retirement of the Affghans, RUNJEET began to make arrangements for seizing and appropriating Lahore, then in the joint possession of two other Chiefs. SHAH ZEMAN had in his retirement been compelled to leave part of his artillery behind him: aware of the object of RUNJEET'S ambition, he wrote him, stating that if the guns were for-

warded he should make him a grant of Lahore, the Affghans still claiming the Punjaub as their own, though no longer able to maintain it for themselves. The condition was acceded to, the grant obtained, and the capital secured. From this time forth he was incessantly engaged in contests with neighbouring Chiefs, which on almost every occasion proved advantageous to his power. Our first connection with RUNJEET SINGH took place in 1803, when the Marquis of WELLESLEY, then engaged in the Mahratta War, endeavoured to secure his friendship and assistance. In 1804 and 1805 RUNJEET was employed in adding the various Seikh States beyond the Chenaub to his dominions, when he was recalled to Lahore by the approach of HOLKAR and AMEER KHAN, pursued by the British Army under Lord LAKE. The Seikh Chief for a time temporised with both, but at length offered his services to the British Government. RUNJEET continuing his acquisitions to the eastward, the British Govt. intimated to him in 1809 that the Seikh States on the hither side of the Sutlej were to be considered under their protection, and that those of them which had been seized must be surrendered. RUNJEET SINGH had hitherto maintained that the Jumna, not the Sutlej, formed the proper limits of our authority. In 1809, Sir DAVID OUCHTERLONY crossed the former river, and advanced with a strong force on Umballah. He proceeded as an Envoy to Umritsir, and was on a friendly mission in the Seikh camp when the Mahomedan portion of his escort were attacked, while performing some of their religious rites, by a body of Seikh fanatics. The escort was called out, and though consisting only of sixteen troopers and two companies of native infantry, so quickly dispersed their assailants that RUNJEET saw his troops had no chance whatever with our army. In the end of the year, accordingly, a formal treaty was entered into, binding him to keep beyond the Sutlej, and to maintain no more troops than were necessary for the maintenance of order, and the defence of the country. In 1810 the SHAH SOOJAH sought refuge in the Punjaub. The Maharajah still continued incessantly engaged in war, in which he was almost constantly in the long run successful.

In 1812, RUNJEET invited Colonel OUCHTERLONY from Umballah to be present at the festivities on the occasion of the marriage of the heir apparent, KURRUCK SINGH. The following year he invaded and conquered Cashmere, which was annexed by him to his dominions. In 1813, he extorted from the SHAH SOOJAH, then living at Lahore an exile from his dominions, the Koh-i-Moor, or Mountain of Light—the largest and most celebrated diamond known to exist in the world. It is nearly an inch and a half in length and an inch wide, and rises half an inch from its settings. It is believed to have belonged to the PANDOOS of the fable before it fell into the hands of the Mogul Sovereigns. It was seized by NADIR SHAH from the King of Delhi, and after his assassination it was taken possession of in his tent by AHMED SHAH ABDULLA, when it remained till the date just mentioned in the unhappy family. It appears at all times to have been a fatal possession to its owners. RUNJEET about this time obtained possession of Attock by a mixture of fraud and violence. In July 1813, a severe action was fought betwixt the Seikhs and the men of Cabool under DOST MAHOMED, then rising into eminence, without any very decided results to either party. In 1814, a second expedition was made against Cashmere, which proved unfortunate. In 1818, an expedition was planned against Mooltan, which was taken by assault in June. The besieging army amounted to 25,000 men, of whom nearly 2000 fell during the siege. The garrison, consisting of 3000 Affghans, were all save 500 cut to pieces. The booty taken on the occasion is said to have amounted to four millions sterling. In 1818, the Affghan troops having in consequence of the disturbances at home withdrawn from Peshawur, the province was in October overrun by the Seikhs, and immediately annexed to the Punjaub. Tranquillity having been in some measure restored at Cabool, a body of Affghans descended through the passes; but after a severe engagement found themselves compelled to retire. So inveterate was the animosity of the inhabitants against the new order of things, that RUNJEET SINGH, for once thwarted in his wishes, found himself unable to retain Peshawur as a

Seikh province, and resolved to divide it betwixt KAMRAN SHAH of Herat, the representative of NADIR SHAH and head of the Suddozyes, and DOST MAHOMED, the Barukzye leader at Cabool, and bitter rival of the Suddozye race of Kings. In 1826, DOST MAHOMED having acquired supremacy in his own country, made over his share of Peshawur to his elder brother, SULTAN MAHOMED KHAN, who had been the last of his competitors for power, on condition of his abandoning all pretensions to the capital. In 1834, SHAH SOOJAH made one more attempt to regain authority in his country. RUNJEET SINGH afforded him assistance on condition of receiving from him a gift of Peshawur and all the other Affghan territories adjoining the Indus. While the struggle was in progress near Candahar, the Peshawur Chiefs, the most faithless and discordant of kinsmen, arranged a series of plots against the Ameer, and solicited aid from Lahore, when the Seikhs, partly by fraud, in part by force, managed once more to obtain possession of the country. In 1835, DOST MAHOMED made an attempt to recover Peshawur: a bloody battle took place, near Jumrood, and the Affghans, after a temporary success, were compelled to retire, but not until HURREE SINGH, the ablest of the Seikh leaders, and a large number of his men, had fallen. This was the last attempt of the Affghans to recover their lost province: it is the more important that the circumstance be kept in recollection, because on it was made to turn the state of our relations with Cabool. BURNES asserts that the conquest was urged on the Lahore chief against his better judgment; it was a source of constant annoyance to him, and a drain on his resources: instead of going to war with DOST MAHOMED for endeavouring to recover his lost possessions, we might easily have persuaded the Maharajah to restore all the Ameer wanted, and so have put an end to the feud betwixt them. Having somewhat anticipated the course of events, we must now return to the state of matters subsequent to the capture of Mooltan. The latter portion of 1819 was occupied in the subjugation of Peshawur: the Seikh armies next marched towards Mooltan, and on the one side ravaged the dominions of the Chief of Bahawulpore, while on the other they crossed the Indus and seized on DHERA GHAZEE KHAN. In 1821 DHERA ISMAEL KHAN was captured, and the whole of the Dejarat, or territory betwixt the mountains and the Indus opposite Mooltan, was annexed to the Punjaub. In March 1822 MM. VENTURA and ALLARD, who had left Europe to push their fortunes in the East, when the hopes of warlike distinction were closed by Waterloo on the young soldiers of France and Italy, arrived at Lahore in quest of service. They had been for some time in the Persian army, from which they retired in disgust. They were received at first with jealousy and distrust, but nothing appearing to justify the suspicions entertained against them, they were by and bye appointed each to the command of a regiment. They were directed to discipline the Seikh soldiers in the European manner. M. ALLARD was instructed to raise and train a regiment of Dragoons. Other officers trained in the wars of Europe, speedily after followed on hearing the success of the earlier adventurers.* In 1827 and 1828 the residence of the Governor-General, Lord AMHERST, in

* The following list of European and Anglo-Indian Officers in the Seikh service is taken from the work of Major CARMICHAEL SMYTH:—

OFFICERS WHO HAVE BEEN OR ARE IN THE SEIKH SERVICE.

Alvarine..	Italian.	Infantry. ...	Died at Lahore.
Gordon..	Anglo-Indian. ..	Cavalry. ..	Ditto.
Ventura...	Italian.	Infantry. ..	Left
Allard..	French.	Cavalry. ..	Died at Peshawur.
Court..	Ditto.	Artillery. ...	Left.
Avitabile	Italian.	Infantry. ..	Ditto.
Hommus...	Spaniard.	Ditto. ..	Died at Lahore.
Vochen..	Russian.	Ditto. ..	Left.
Honigberger... ..	German.	Medical. ..	Still in the Service.
Dottenwise.	Ditto.	Engineer. ...	Left.
Harlan..	American.	Civil. ..	Left.
De L'Ust...	French.	Infantry. ..	Left.
Holmes..	Anglo-Indian. ..	Ditto. ..	[Killed by the Seiks.]
Dubignon...	French.	Ditto. ..	At present a Merchant at Lahore.
Hest..	Greek.	Ditto. ..	Killed at Lahore.
Hureleek.	Ditto.	Ditto. ..	Left.

the neighbourhood, and afterwards of Lord COMBERMERE, Commander-in-Chief, became the grounds of complimentary messages being exchanged betwixt them and the Lahore Government. In 1831 the British Government sent out from England a gift of horses to RUNJEET SINGH, and the opportunity was taken of obtaining some information in reference to Scinde—through which country leave to pass the embassage was obtained from the Ameers. From the time Lieutenant (now Sir HENRY) POTTINGER had passed through Scinde in 1809 we had scarcely had any information regarding it till Dr BURNES visited the Court in his medical capacity at the request of the Ameers in 1827, and gave us the excellent account of his journey which is still considered a standard. His brother, Lieutenant BURNES, was selected to take charge of the gifts for RUNJEET SINGH, and was directed to obtain all the information he could on the geography, climate, and statistics of the countries on the Indus. He reached Lahore in July 1831, and proceeded onwards to Cabool and Bokhara. A peaceful mission, and excellent book of travels, most innocently came afterwards to affect the whole of our foreign policy, and to give us the Affghan war, and the conquests of Scinde and the Punjaub. In October 1831 RUNJEET SINGH and the Governor-General exchanged visits of state: the magnificence of the arrangements at both interviews are probably without a parallel in history. At this time the Maharajah was ardently bent on the conquest of Scinde: the country was fertile, the Ameers rich, and the people not supposed likely long to resist aggression: these were reasons sufficient with the Lion of Lahore for invasion. From this time forth the Maharajah's friendship and respect for the British Government seem to have been cordial and sincere. In 1834 he agreed to assist the SHAH SOOJAH in a last attempt to regain his dominions, on terms cruelly severe and stringent. The attempt proved a failure; but, as already remarked, RUNJEET seized the occasion to make Peshawur entirely his own. The British Government declined to meddle on the occasion, on the sound but constantly violated plea that they "religiously abstained from meddling with the affairs of their neighbours." What a blessing for themselves, their subjects, and those around, had the principle been adhered to. In July 1835 RUNJEET SINGH again made an attack on Scinde, seizing Rojhan and threatening Shikarpore, and demanding from the Ameers tribute to the extent of £100,000 a year. The British Government interposed, and he was induced to forego his purposes. He became a party to the unhappy treaty of 1837, by which DOST MAHOMED was expelled from Cabool: the consideration of this comes under the following section. He died in July 1839, leaving a great name for talent, success, profligacy, and want of principle, behind him. He was

Mc'Pherson.	English.	Infantry. ..	Left.
Gardner.	American.	Artillery. ..	Ditto.
Kunarah.	American.	Artillery. ..	[Killed by the Seiks.]
Cortlandt.	Anglo-Indian. ..	Infantry. ..	Still in the Service.
Fitzroy.	Ditto.	Ditto. ..	Left.
Barlow.	Ditto	Ditto. ..	Ditto.
Mouton.	French.	Cavalry. ..	Ditto
Steinbach.	German.	Infantry. ..	At present in Golab Sing's Service.
De la Roche.	French.	Ditto. ..	Killed by a fall from this horse.
De la Font, 1st. ..	Ditto.	Ditto. .	Left the Service.
De la Font, 2nd. ..	Ditto.	Ditto. ..	Ditto
Foulkes.	English.	Cavalry. ..	Killed by the Seiks.
Harbon.	Spaniard.	Engineers. ..	Left the Service.
Leslie.	Anglo-Indian. ..	Infantry. ..	Ditto ditto.
Martindale.	Ditto.	Ditto. ..	Ditto.
Ford.	English.	Ditto. ..	Died by wounds &c. received from the Seiks.
De Fasheye.	French.	Cavalry. ..	Died at Lahore.
Ditto, Son.	Ditto.	Ditto. ..	Left the Service.
Dr. Harvey.	Scotch.	Medical. ..	Ditto.
Jervis.	French.	Infantry. ..	Ditto.
Mic vious.	Prussian.	Ditto. ..	Ditto.
Bianchi.	Italian.	Ditto. ..	Ditto.
Argen.	French.	Ditto. ..	Ditto.

succeeded by his son KURRUCK SINGH, a weak-minded, ill conditioned man, whose reign was in no way distinguished but for the tragedy at its close. He had in his latter days been conspired against by his son, and kept under restraint: he died on the 5th November 1840, after a reign of twenty months. He left behind him an only son, NAO NEHAL SINGH, a young man of great accomplishments and extreme promise, who, on returning from his father's obsequies, was killed by the fall of a beam as he entered the city. SHERE SIGNH, Governor of Cashmere, was the son of one of the wives of RUNJEET SINGH; but though never repudiated, he was at no time considered legitimate. After a short struggle he ascended the throne. And now succeeded a period of five years of violence, anarchy, and murder, which finds no parallel in history—of debauchery at the court without any example whatever: over this we may fairly pass, and resume our narrative in the end of 1845—giving meanwhile a short account of our relations with Scinde and Affghanistan.

II.—AFFGHANISTAN is walled in on the north by the Hindoo Koosh and the Paropamisan range of mountains,* many of which reach the elevation of 20,000 feet—the summit level of the passes through which the intercourse betwixt the countries to the north and south of these is maintained, varies from 10 to 13,000 feet.† On the south and east it is bounded by the river Indus from Attock in longitude 73° east, latitude 34° north, to as far south as latitude 32° 20′. On the east it is divided by stupendous mountain ranges from Chinese Tartary—on the west it borders with Bokhara, Koondooz, and Persia; on the south-west with Beloochistan and Scinde, from both of which it was wont to claim allegiance, military service, and tribute. The kingdom of Cabool, which more immediately concerns us at present, arose out of the dismemberment of the empire of NADIR SHAH. When that monarch was murdered in 1747 he was succeeded by AHMED SHAH, the founder of the Dooraunee monarchy;—a skilful, brave and enterprizing soldier, whose whole reign, to the period of his death in 1773, was spent in war. He bequeathed an empire which reached from Khorassan to Sirhind, and from the Oxus to the sea, to his son TIMOR, a weak and indolent monarch, unable to rule the extensive realms and turbulent subjects the more vigorous hand of his father had with difficulty controlled. TIMOR SHAH transferred the seat of government from Candahar to Cabool, and was, in 1793, succeeded by ZEMAUN SHAH, one of the youngest of his sons.‡ On the elevation of this prince to the throne, which had been effected by a faction of the nobles, his elder brothers broke out in open insurrection; one had himself proclaimed king of Candahar, but was afterwards defeated and blinded by MAHOMED SHAH, another brother, who seized Herat, which he was permitted to retain. The elevation of SHAH ZEMAUN to the throne, had given rise to much popular discontent: and FUTTEH KHAN, head of the Baruckzyes, having formed an alliance with the ruler of Herat, advanced to the eastward, where, near Candahar, he defeated ZEMAUN, who was afterwards betrayed into the hands of the conqueror, by whom he was blinded and sent prisoner to Caboul. SHAH SOOJAH, a still younger son of TIMOR, and brother of ZEMAUN, now, for the first time, appears in the field. In 1801, on learning the mishap of his brother, he advanced on Cabool from Peshawur, but was defeated, and his army dispersed by FUTTEH KHAN and his Baruckzyes. An attempt in 1803 was more successful. When FUTTEH KHAN, acknowledged on all hands to have been a man of talent and courage, was absent from his capital engaged in quelling an insurrection, advantage was taken of some religious quarrels betwixt the leading Mahommedan sects; and the SHAH SOOJAH, who had shortly before been a second time defeated, from a fugitive living on the bounty of the tribes was raised to the throne. After six years of almost uninterrupted turbulence and discord, during

* Hamilton's Gazetteer.

† Rough Notes on the Campaign in Scinde and Affghanistan, &c. By Captain James Outram, p. 140.

‡ Asiatic Journal from September to December, 1838. The whole of the papers in this periodical on our Affghan policy are able and excellent, and would form valuable subjects of study to those who have the ignorance or impudence to assert that the mischiefs of the Affghan war were only first discovered after it began to appear unfortunate.

which he, on more than one occasion, nearly lost his crown, he was, in 1810, totally defeated by FUTTEH KHAN, and driven from his kingdom. In 1811 he made an unsuccessful attempt to regain the sovereignty. He subsequently resided in the Punjaub till stripped of the crown jewels and all his other property by RUNJEET SINGH. This is a brief but exact outline of the early career of the SHAH SOOJAH. His grandfather obtained the kingdom by conquest. His brother, to whom he temporarily succeeded, was one of the younger sons of TIMOR, the son of AHMED SHAH, and was raised to the sovereignty by force over the heads of his elder brothers; to whom, if seniority and hereditary right were to be considered grounds of claim, it properly belonged. KAMRAN SHAH of Herat, son of MAHMOUD, the eldest of these, has throughout, since his father's death, been the representative of the lineal branch, and is so still. The SHAH SOOJAH maintained a weak and troubled reign for the space of seven years, during which he never exercised authority over one half the territory or subjects, or claimed one tithe of the rights of which we afterwards for a time put him in possession. It is well to recollect these things, because the general impression amongst the public at large appears throughout to have been, that in placing the late Doorannee ruler on the throne, we were restoring a once powerful and popular monarch to rights which he had formerly enjoyed:—to a kingdom and subjects so ruled by him through a long period of time, as that, from them with him as their sovereign, we might look for a strong and imperishable barrier against all invasion from Persia and Russia. Instead of this, we associated ourselves with an ally who was only able to maintain a precarious rule, because of the dissensions of the other chiefs:—who never possessed the confidence of the Affghans to an extent that would have enabled him to ward off foreign aggression, from whatever quarter it might have been threatened.

FUTTEH KHAN, though actually holding the power and destinies of the kingdom in his hands, had never claimed the title of Sovereign, which was enjoyed by SHAH MAHMOUD, the hereditary Grand Vizier. The former chief was shortly afterwards deprived of sight at Candahar by a son of the latter, in revenge for the contemptuous manner in which he had spoken of the ruler of Cabool. This barbarous act of vengeance immediately converted the brothers of FUTTEH KHAN into the most active enemies of MAHMOUD SHAH and his family.* After a considerable period of turbulence and strife, the Doorannee empire was dismembered. In 1826, DOST MAHOMED made himself entire master of Cabool.† He deprived his brother JUBBAR KHAN of the Ghilzie country, of which he had just before obtained possession, and made him his Vizier; seizing also on Jellalabad, which had belonged to MAHOMED ZEMAUN KHAN. Candahar fell under the rule of three of DOST MAHOMED'S brothers. In 1833, the SHAH SOOJAH made a last attempt to recover the sovereignty; he defeated the Scindians and possessed himself of Shikarpore. Having advanced by the Bolan Pass and Quettah, he was on the 2nd of July 1834 defeated by DOST MAHOMED near Candahar, and sought refuge from the KHAN of Kelat. From this date he lived a pensioner on the Indian Government within the Company's territory. He had, indeed, resided at Loodianah since 1818: we allowed him a pension of £4500 a year, but avoided meddling with his quarrels.‡ Sixty winters had cooled his ambition, and he seemed content to spend his days in affluent and luxurious exile, when in 1838 it pleased the British Government to treat with him as a Sovereign about to be placed once more in power!

The entire population of the Doorannee empire is estimated by Mr ELPHINSTONE at about a million of souls: of these, from 80,000 to 100,000 are inhabitants of Cabool,§ and about a similar number of the city of Candahar ‖ The town of Istaliff, but little known to us till attacked and destroyed by Genl. MCCASKILL on the 29th September 1842, contains about 15,000 inhabitants; Charekar about 3000; Ghuznie about 3000; and Quettah about 6000. The last named town was at this

* The above is chiefly an abridgment from the Asiatic Journal, as already quoted.
† Major Hough's March and Operations of the Army of the Indus, p. 414.
‡ Ibid, p. 404, note.
§ Burnes. Major Hough.
‖ Major Hough states that there are 40,000 houses, and 100,000 inhabitants, in Candahar (p. 155.) We are disposed to take a lower estimate.

time a portion of the Khanate of Kelat, to which it has since been re-annexed: from 1839 to 1842 we held it as belonging to the SHAH SOOJAH. There are no other towns of note in the kingdom, save Jellalabad, which is within the first line of passes. Cabool, the capital, is situated in Lat. 34 deg. 30 min. N., and Long. 68 deg. 31 min. E. It is more than three miles in circumference. It is surrounded by rocky hills; and the beautiful but narrow valley in which it stands is no less than 6395 feet above the level of the sea.* It is remarkable for the excellency and abundance of its fruits. The Bala Hissar, or citadel, is placed on an eminence, half a mile long and half as much broad, overlooking and commanding the town, which is difficult of access either to friend or foe. It is, or rather it was, chiefly remarkable for the magnificence of its bazaars. These buildings, formed by a continuation of streets roofed in and crossing each other at right angles, were, until our troops blew them up in 1842, the admiration of every traveller, and the architectural pride of Central Asia. The revenues of Cabool with all its territories, amounted in DOST MAHOMED'S time to from £250,000 to £300,000 a year;† during the period of our occupation they seldom exceeded £220,000;‡ while, in addition to this, Candahar yielded £30,000; and the whole revenues of the SHAH SOOJAH betwixt 1839 and 1841 never probably amounted to anything like £100,000 a year. The charges we incurred on his account annually were about eight times this. The winter throughout Affghanistan is exceedingly severe, the thermometer at Cabool often sinking below zero, and remaining 8 or 10 deg. under freezing for three or four months together.

From the time of Mr ELPHINSTONE'S visit to Cabool in 1805 till that of BURNES in 1832, we knew next to nothing of the state of Affghanistan. The delightful volumes of the traveller gave such a glowing account of the country, its rulers, chiefs, and people, as to have quite turned the heads of British Statesmen. In 1835 one of those periodical fits of apprehension from the machinations of Russia which from time to time overwhelm us, seemed to have overtaken us. BURNES had in 1836 been dispatched on a commercial mission up the Indus, with a view of establishing mercantile relations with the various chiefs and cities on its banks up to Cabool. At this time the Shah of Persia had sent an army against Herat, where a disobedient feudatory had made himself a common nuisance by seizing travellers and selling them as slaves, and plundering the caravans and subjects of all nations. The Russian Ambassador at Teheran appeared to have acted inconsiderately on the occasion, and encouraged the expedition—the British Resident was opposed to it. Immediately the cry arose that Persia meant to seize on Herat for the use of Russia—that that city, once in Muscovite possession, the Czar would hold the keys of India in his hands. The Foreign Minister remonstrated: Count NESSELRODE conceded everything, and gave explanations which were pronounced to be perfectly satisfactory—as indeed they bear obvious signs of having been. On our part it was clear the whole was a hallucination. The Shah lay nearly a twelvemonth before Herat, and then found himself compelled to abandon the siege—urged thereto doubtless by the occupation of Karrack, in the Persian Gulf, by a force from Bombay, which could have seized the capital of his empire without the slightest trouble—proof enough of how little we had to fear, and how thoroughly Persia was at our feet. Hearing of the siege, the Government of India gave fresh instructions to BURNES, whose mission ceased to be peaceful or one of commerce, and became connected with the questions of peace or war in Central Asia. On BURNES'S arrival at Cabool, DOST MAHOMED had just returned from Peshawur, and still cast a longing lingering look towards the province severed by such illegitimate means from the Dooranee Empire by the Seikhs: he was as usual quarrelling with his brothers at Candahar, and seemed uncertain whether to view Persia as friend or foe. A Cossack at his Court personated a Rusian Envoy or Spy, and awakened new alarms. BURNES declares himself utterly unable to discover what was wanted by our Government with DOST MAHOMED: we would not give him any assistance against his enemies, and would not suffer him to remain on terms of amity

* Major Hough, pp 284 and 430.
† See Burnes's Travels.
‡ Letter of Sir Alex. Burnes, published in the *Bombay Times*.

with his friends—we would not interpose our good offices betwixt him and RUNJEET SINGH, nor suffer him to redress his own grievances,—in short, we would do nothing but get up a cause of quarrel against him. We had been ten years at peace—our army wanted an augmentation, and were weary of idleness: we had a surplus revenue of a million and a half a year—and thus, possessed of the means, the inclination and the ability, of making war, war was determined on. DOST MAHOMED offered to BURNES to cut connexion with Persia, to kick the Russian Major from his court—to do anything to please us: but we had resolved not to be pleased.* We determined to depose the Ameer and set up the SHAH SOOJAH in his stead—so speedily had the maxim about not meddling with our neighbours' matters been forgotten. A proclamation full of misstatements was issued by Lord AUCKLAND on the 1st October 1837, intimating our purposes. A triple alliance had been formed betwixt RUNJEET SINGH, the British Government, and the SHAH SOOJAH, who were mutually to assist each other, and be friends for ever.

The Army was now immediately augmented by 13,000 men, with about as many more in the name of a contingent: before the war was over, above 50,000 had been added to the strength of our army. Our troops were refused permission to pass by the direct route through the Punjaub and the Khyber Pass, and were compelled to make a detour of nearly 1,000 miles by the Bolan. They marched under Sir HENRY FANE, Commander-in-Chief of India, in October 1838, and proceeded down the line of the Indus to Sukkur. The Ameers, fearing the results of permitting their country to be made a thoroughfare for our troops, were averse to provide us with the means of carriage. A strong force from Bombay moved from Kurrachee on Hydrabad: the whole army was united in Upper Scinde, and placed under the command of Lord KEANE. The troops accordingly made their way with little interruption through the Bolan Pass early in 1839. The Khan of Kelat having refused to afford the assistance he had promised, was doomed to destruction. He foretold the fate of the expedition in nearly the same words as were used shortly after by the Duke of WELLINGTON—You may take the country, said he—how are you to keep it?—you may send your armies to Cabool—how are you to communicate with them when the snows set in?—how succour them if attacked?—how withdraw them? Two years afterwards the question was resolved when 15,000 British subjects slept in the snows of Tezeen. Quettah and Candahar surrendered without a struggle—Ghuznie was taken by assault, the gate being blown in. DOST MAHOMED appeared for a moment in the field as we approached his capital, when his chiefs and army abandoned him, and he sought refuge in the mountains of Khoolloom. Cabool was surrendered to us at once, and in the end of 1839 the SHAH SOOJAH was re-seated on his throne. The campaign thus far had cost us nine millions sterling.—25,000 men required to be maintained beyond the passes to keep our puppet on his throne. In the course of the next fourteen months, when Lord PALMERSTON pronounced everything settled in the most satisfactory manner possible—Affghanistan as tranquil as England or Wales—we were thirty-three times engaged with the enemy, thirteen times unsuccessfully. The A[illegible] knew the prowess of our armies, but they remembered the irresistibility of their mountains, and the fearful strength of their passes. The blow had fallen on them with such stunning force that for one season they were stupified. The next they prepared themselves for action—when a series of petty

* Incredible as these statements may appear, they are every one of them founded on official papers. So ashamed were Ministers of the course they had adopted, and so unjustifiable did they consider the cause they had pursued, that they suppressed about two thirds of the Despatches of Sir A. BURNES: the despatches were found entire with his papers after his murder. From these it appears that he recommended the very things he was said to have [illegible]—condemned those he was affirmed to have recommended. The speeches of Sir J. HOBHOUSE and Lord PALMERSTON on those subjects are contradicted in numberless cases by the papers printed under their sanction. At home these things are never looked into—the newest statement goes down as true. It was pretended by Sir J. C. HOBHOUSE after this that we had gone to war in consequence of the danger of the intrigues of Russia: it is shewn by the dates of the papers themselves that the Simla Proclamation was issued three weeks before we commenced our correspondence with the Court of Russia at all, or felt ourselves entitled to com-

insults, and instances of tyranny and folly, exasperated a brave and barbarous people to madness. In November 1841 the whole country rose against us—the garrisons at Ghuznie and Cabool were surrounded and obliged to capitulate—the latter, consisting of 5,000 regular troops, and nearly three times as many followers, were cut off almost to a man on their retreat on Jellalabad. The campaign occasioned the sacrifice of about 12,000 Affghans and about 18,000 British subjects. About 70,000 camels, costing alone wellnigh a million sterling, were sacrificed, and above fifteen millions of money thrown away. Lord AUCKLAND had sent a large army under Sir GEORGE POLLOCK to the frontier, in hopes of retrieving the disaster: General NOTT, who was within the country when it occurred, had been able to maintain himself at Candahar. In 1842 Lord ELLENBOROUGH gave five successive orders to Generals NOTT and POLLOCK to withdraw their troops from the country, without making any provision for the release of some 200 prisoners in the hands of the enemy: the orders were disobeyed till in July permission was given, when the season was so far advanced as to make military movements perillous beyond the mountains, to withdraw by Cabool. NOTT accordingly moved from Candahar, and POLLOCK from Jellalabad, on the capital: they carried all before them, and rescued our prisoners,—continuing the war for nearly a month after peace was proclaimed. In the eyes of the Governor General their chief achievement seemed to have been the desecration of a tomb, the burning of a market-place, and destruction of a temple,—the plundered mausoleum of MAHMOUD OF GHUNIZE, the burnt bazaar and ruined temple of Cabool, proving how closely the vengeance of barbarians could be copied by the most civilised of Christian nations. The troops returned in triumph, and a Proclamation by the Governor-General intimated through the *Gazette* how many tons of sweetmeats had been allowed them on reaching the country. His lordship was for a time occupied in decorating bamboo bridges with calico, painting elephants' heads, and designing Morocco horse-trappings, these being apparently considered the most noble labours in which the Ruler of India could employ himself. The raree show at Ferozepore in December 1842 costing about as much as would have constructed a hundred miles of railway. The Ameer of Cabool was allowed to return and resume his seat on the throne—all our communication with Affghanistan was at an end. From this time forward it was every now and then intimated that DOST MAHOMED was most anxious to resume friendly relations with us, and that an embassy was once more about to be sent to Cabool: recent events have built up a wall of partition betwixt us which will not be broken through in our time.

III.—The affairs of Scinde bear so lightly on those of the Punjaub that we may reduce to the narrowest compass the relation of its affairs. Scinde is bounded on the North by Beloochistan, Affghanistan, and Bahâwulpore, on the East by Jeysulmere and Marwar, on the West by the mountains of Beloochistan, and on the South by Cutch and the Indian Ocean. It is about 300 miles from N. to S., and nearly as much from East to West: the most valuable portion of the country is that which lies along the banks of the Indus within the influence of the inundation from Sukkur to Kurrachee. Hardly any rain ever falls in the country, and it is separated from our frontier by the Great Salt Desert. The Government and people of Scinde seem once to have been Hindoo; but the country has been from time to time overrun and colonised from the West, till nine tenths of its inhabitants are Mahomedans. About a century ago a Beloochee Dynasty called Caloras obtained dominion in Scinde, but were subsequently superseded by a later invasion, when the Talpoors, also a Belooch family, obtained supremacy. Under the Talpoors several Chiefs called Ameers, ruled the country conjointly—one Ameer, holding the title of Rais, being held supreme. Khyrpore was the [illegible] of Upper Scinde, and in the family of its Ameer the Supreme Raisship was hereditary. Hydrabad, the Capital of Lower Scinde, had a Rais of its own, who deferred however to the Chief of Khyrpore. So jealous were the Chiefs of the admission of strangers into the country, that Dr BURNES, who, as already stated, was in 1827 invited in his medical capacity to their Court, was the first Englishman who had ever been allowed to visit Hydrabad. It was not until nearly three

months had been spent in negociation that Lieutenant (afterwards Lieut. Colonel Sir ALEXANDER) BURNES was allowed to enter the Indus in 1830:—when we had once seen their wealth they believed their country lost—and they were right. Until 1835 the relations of the Ameers with us were those of friendly but perfectly independent powers: the threats of RUNJEET SINGH induced them to accept the offer of our mediation—but this involved no claim on our part—or duty on theirs: we were but stepping between the spoiler and his prey,—a word was all that was requisite from us to prevent the horrors of war and mischiefs of conquest. In 1809 a general treaty of amity betwixt the British and Scindian Governments was entered on: this was renewed in 1820. In 1832 a treaty was ratified,—the first article of which bound the contracting parties never to look with an eye of covetousness on the possessions of each other,—betwixt the British Government and the Ameer of Khyrpore, the earliest and most constant of our friends, and first and worst used of our victims, the Ameer granting permission for the transmission of merchandise through his dominions, and the use of the Indus on the payment of duties mutually agreed upon: similar terms were a month afterwards granted by the Ameers of Hydrabad, with the stipulation on our part that no troops or military stores should enter Scinde, and that no Englishman should settle in the country. In 1834 it was agreed that a toll should be levied on goods instead of duty. In April 1838, when we were striving to fasten a quarrel on the Ameer of Cabool, a treaty was ratified for permitting a British Ambassador to reside at the Court of Scinde, on the pretence of adjusting the differences between RUNJEET SINGH and the Ameers, the Maharajah having threatened to seize the country without any reason whatever save that it was rich, ill-defended, and near to his other territories. Three months afterwards—June 1838—the Triple Alliance betwixt the British Government, the SHAH SOOJAH, and RUNJEET SINGH, was concluded: in this an obsolete claim of £150,000 of the SHAH SOOJAH against the Ameers of Scinde was revived, and determined to be enforced by the high contracting parties—that is, we, who had no right whatever to interfere in the matter, were to see this sum extorted from the Ameers, or to invade their country. A month after this,—July 1838,—the Resident was directed to apprise the Ameers that they must pay £200,000 to the SHAH SOOJAH, and permit a British Army to pass on its way to Cabool through Scinde, otherwise their dominions would be invaded. This was in the very teeth of the previous treaty, forbidding the transport of military stores, or introduction of troops into the kingdom. Our old friend, MEER ROOSTUM, had before this offered to befriend us to the utmost of his power, and to perform any service for us we could require at his hands. Not content with this, we intimated next that the strong fortress of Bukkur, and the port of Kurrachee, should be for a time made over to us—and that we should be permitted to establish a chain of posts, and maintain a line of communication right through the centre of the country from Kurrachee to the Bolan Pass, during the sojourn of our troops in Affghanistan. It had just before been agreed that no Englishman should sojourn in the country. It was in addition to this expected that they should give us every assistance in their power to establish the hated SHAH SOOJAH on the throne. It was not wonderful that these propositions should have been viewed with aversion, as in the last degree unjust and injurious to them—the final treaty was only ratified when our armies approached Hydrabad in December 1838. The treaties once subscribed were faithfully observed by the Ameers, who, during the whole course of our military operations in 1839, 40, and 1841, and of the frightful disasters which followed, never shewed the slightest hostility or ill feeling towards us. Any movement on their part when a mere handful of troops was all that could be afforded to maintain our communications with Quettah and Candahar, would have been most calamitous to us. In 1842, when our disastrous connection with Affghanistan was over, and our armies had returned in triumph, the fidelity of the Ameers was rewarded by further exactions. Large concessions of territory were to be made to us—British coin was to be substituted for native currency; we were to be allowed to cut wood from the hunting grounds of the Ameers for the supply of our steamers, and to maintain a permanent force within the country. If it be considered that

the privilege of coining money is in the East considered one of the chief distinctions of royalty, that the concession of territory is one of the deepest degradations that can be inflicted on a ruler, and that their preserves were cherished by them as fondly and carefully as are the deer forests of Scotland by the NIMROD Dukes of the country, the cruelty of these terms towards a government which owed us no obligation, had done us no wrong, and had as good a right to be considered independent as our own, may be conceived. To add to the severity of this, MEER ROOSTUM, the oldest and most faithful of our friends, was compelled to abandon the Raisship in favour of a hated rival, ALI MOORAD, the most notorious scoundrel in Asia. Sir C. NAPIER was now at the head of our armies, eager for war: the most insulting language was employed towards those who till now had ever received the respect due to Princes. He had acknowledged that he had come penniless into the country, but would not leave it till he was rich: the Ameers were known to be wealthy, and supposed to be weak: rumour on both points exaggerated; but half a million of prize-money afterwards fell to the share of some 6000 men, £70,000 rewarding the zeal of the General. An appointment worth £10,000, followed by one of £15,000 a year, came afterwards as make-weights! He advanced on the Capital, and just as the treaty was subscribed, a body of Beloochees turned out to defend their Chiefs. They were attacked, and the victories of Meanee and Dubba made Scinde a British Possession. The dishonesty of the policy, and cost of the acquisition, were at the time proclaimed by the press. The warning passed unheeded, as such warnings ever do when England hears of the triumphs of her armies. Our old frontier had been maintained with betwixt 2000 and 4000 troops: a permanent garrison of 15,000, at one time reaching as high at 25,000, has ever since then been found requisite to maintain our extended frontier. In 1845, Sir C. NAPIER, the author of the policy, and achiever of the conquest, publicly intimated that in the end of the year the Bombay Army would in all likelihood be employed in the conquest of the Punjaub; and the prediction did much to bring about its own realisation. Scinde has ever since its conquest been a drain upon our finances to the extent of betwixt half a million and a million and a half annually: from the conquest to the present time it has cost the country above eight millions sterling, and threatens to be a permanent drain on our resources of at least half a million a year. It yields us nothing whatever in return but a graveyard for our troops. The Indus was as open in 1842 to the commerce of all nations as it is now: the value of the trade does not pay the cost of the steamers kept up by Government for its maintenance. So insecure is the frontier it affords, that when on the raising of the siege of Mooltan some 6000 men were withdrawn from it, leaving as many within the country, a force similar in magnitude to that sent to Mooltan had to be hurried up from Bombay for fear of an invasion by the Affghans.

IV.—This short account of our position in Scinde enables us to return to the affairs of the Punjaub. It is needless to go over the scenes of debauchery, murder, and military rapine, which continued without interruption from the death of NAO NEHAL SINGH in 1841 until the end of 1845. RUNJEET SINGH, confounding, like most barbarians, the source with the results or badges of the strength of a country, had left behind him an army of 82,000 regular troops, with a park of 370 guns, and as many swivels or camel-pieces. For years the government and the people had been alike at the mercy of the army—the exactions and oppressions indulged in by them were unbounded. The attack on Scinde and on Gwalior, and the disgraceful manner in which the former was made, brought us close on both sides upon their borders, and shewed them there was no conquest too unprovoked or shameless for us to attempt: the threat of Sir C. NAPIER pointed them out as our next victims. The Queen and Court were terrified at their proceedings, and, wishing them anywhere rather than at Lahore, urged them to cross the Sutlej. In November 1845 accordingly they entered our dominions and threatened Ferozepore: they were met by us at Moodkhee, Ferozeshah, Buddiwall, Alliwal, and Sobraon, and their country placed at our feet. In a spirit of wise, merciful, and unprecedented forbearance, Lord HARDINGE left the empire its independence: a fine was exacted from them to meet the expenses of the war: the

Protected States, which could plead no pardon, were attached. The Jullundhur Doab, a large territory betwixt the Sutlej and the Beeas, was annexed to our dominions. Cashmere was assigned to GOOLAUB SINGH, Rajah of Jamoo, in consideration of his paying a portion of the tribute the Lahore Government was unable to meet. Sir H. LAWRENCE was appointed Resident at Lahore, and 10,000 men were to be maintained for a twelvemonth at the capital, till order within the country was restored. As the time over which this stipulation extended approached a close, it was clear that no progress whatever had been made in re-establishing order: the Vizier, moreover, was found to have been plotting treason against us. He was tried, convicted, and banished the country, and a new arrangement entered on, to extend over the whole minority of the Maharajah, during which the administration of the kingdom was to be almost entirely vested in our hands—a British army of 10,000 to be maintained within the country. This was the last arrangement we had occasion to make. In February 1848 Lord HARDINGE quitted India, and Sir H. LAWRENCE unhappily was compelled from sickness to return to Europe. Fifty thousand men were left to maintain the frontier, of whom 10,000 were Europeans: there were three Moveable Brigades, of 3,500 each, kept close by, fully supplied with baggage cattle, and ready to move anywhere at a moment's notice. A force of 10,000 kept the capital in order—the Seikh army at the command of the Durbar amounted to about 30,000. The tale of the subject which occupies the following pages may be told in a few lines. The Chief of Mooltan was about to be relieved of the territory over which he and his father ruled: an embassy was sent, with a miserably inadequate escort of 300, to see to the transfer—in which 5000 men ought to have been employed. They were dispatched at the commencement of the rainy season, when no assistance could be sent them should anything go wrong. They were attacked and murdered a few days after their arrival. When danger first appeared, messengers were dispatched to Lahore, to Bahawulpore, and to Lieut. EDWARDES, supposed to be in the neighbourhood with troops, requesting aid. The Resident ordered a brigade to be got in readiness—EDWARDES and BAHAWUL KHAN flew to the rescue. MOOLRAJ threatened to attack and anihilate them by turns, and while striving to protect each other they found themselves close by the Capital, triumphant in a series of brilliant actions. Assistance sent at this time from Lahore would have put down the insurrection at once. A series of delays unknown till now in our history, appeared on every side. At length, after much vacillation, a well appointed force of 7,000 men, with forty guns, was dispatched in August. Operations went on slowly: a large body of Seikhs deserted to the enemy, and the siege was raised on the 14th September. Four months were occupied in the transmission of reinforcements, when a column of 7000 men, with forty additional guns, arrived in the end of December. By this time the whole country was in a blaze, and the Commander-in-Chief had taken the field in person at the head of 20,000 men. He exposed his troops to a severe check in an attempt to determine the strength of the enemy at Ramnuggur: a flank movement by Sir JOSEPH THACKWELL was frustrated by delays, and want of information and support. The troops were now ordered to lie idle till Mooltan was taken: when urged to attempt something on the fall of Attock, they allowed themselves to be drawn on the 13th January into an action on ground selected by the enemy: the disaster of Chillianwalla was the result. The town of Mooltan was captured on the 2nd January, but the fort held out: on the 22nd MOOLRAJ and the garrison surrendered. General WHISH, with 8000 men, now marched to assist the Commander-in-Chief. The Seikhs, out-generalling him on all points, had got into his rear, and nearly gained possession of the capital, when their advance was interrupted by the rising of the river Chenaub. They were attacked on the 21st February by the combined armies at Goojrat, and completely defeated. They were pursued by General GILBERT, and compelled to lay down their arms: and the Punjaub was declared a part of the British dominions.—On the arrival in England of the disastrous tidings from Chillianwalla, Sir C. NAPIER was sent out to supersede Lord GOUGH.

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SECTION I.

State of the country in January 1848.—Force left by Lord Hardinge on the Frontier.—Strength of the Army after the Reduction.—Favourable aspect of Affairs in the Punjaub.—Arrival of Lord Dalhousie—Departure of Lord Hardinge and Colonel Lawrence—Political Arrangements.—Defection of Mooltan—Dewan Moolraj.—Dispatch of Messrs Agnew and Anderson from Lahore—Their Murder.—Lieutenant Edwardes and Bahawulkhan summoned to give assistance—Success in the Derajat—Advance on Mooltan.—Affairs at Lahore—Conspiracy to Murder our Officers—Reverse of the Daudpootras—Edwardes, Cortlandt, and the Daudpootras, defeat the Insurgents on the 18th June.—Further proceedings near Mooltan.—Heroism of Quin.—Lieutenant Lake joins.—Preparations for the Siege.

Scarcely within the history of our connection with the East can any year be found the performances of which have so disappointed expectation as have those of Eighteen Hundred and Forty-Eight, or where the prospects of a long, solid, and enduring, peace have been so marred by the realities of a harassing, expensive, inglorious, and unproductive, war. Lord Hardinge, on entering on his Government in July 1844, found the Government spending more than a million sterling annually beyond its income. He found us with an Army more than double that which the Sovereign of England possessed. Three ruinously unproductive wars had just been closed: the Governor-General had shortly before announced the principle that the proper place for him was by the side of the Commander-in-Chief,—intimating that the only regret he felt on leaving India was that occasioned by his separation from the Army. Every peace-improvement and work of public utility had been put a stop to, and, so far as could be judged of by the language or actions of the Governor-General, there was no chance of peace being permanently maintained so long as any excuse could be found for war or aggression. The aim of our Government had been publicly declared to be the introduction of a system of uniform currency and taxation from the Himalayan mountains to the sea.

Perfectly well aware that the Seikh Chiefs were only to be trusted, the Seikhs to be kept in order, by the presence of a large army ready to be employed against them in case of need,—equally so that with a force within reach of them such as it would be madness to resist, they were likely to do all that was expected of them,—Lord Hardinge had doubled the strength of the garrison along the North-west Frontier. Lord Ellenborough had considered 17,612 men with 66 guns sufficient to protect Ferozepore, Loodhiana, Umballa, and Meerut: this force had been augmented to 40,523 men with 94 guns just before the Seikhs assailed us in December 1845: in 1847 it was still further encreased to 54,000 men and 120 guns. Of these, there were betwixt 8,000 and 10,000 at Lahore, and nearly as many at Ferozepore,—both forces being capable of being employed in the Punjaub almost at a moment's notice—of this magnificent force nearly one-fifth were Europeans; while three Moveable Brigades of 3,400 men each, with 12 guns and a due proportion of cavalry,—their cattle being regularly mustered once a month and a report of their serviceableness sent in to head-quarters,—were kept ready to start in any direction, or on any service, literally at a moment's warning. Provision had been made, besides, for pushing on the reserves in the Jullundhur and at other stations immediately in the rear, to reinforce the moveable columns should it be found requisite for them to take the field. Three regiments of European dragoons were

in readiness at hand. Three regiments of European infantry could be sent from the hills and one from Umballa,—making in all seven regiments of European infantry and three of cavalry available for service, with 70 guns in addition to the 36 attached to the moveable columns,—or in all, a force of 20,000 men, of whom one-third were Europeans, with 100 guns;—still leaving 20,000 regular native infantry, and 7,000 cavalry, regular and irregular, as reserve close at hand. General LITTLER, soon afterwards succeeded by General GILBERT, commanded at the capital, with Brigadiers CAMPBELL and WHEELER under him: better officers were not to be found in the Bengal Army. The troops at and near Lahore were under the immediate command of the Resident: those in the neighbourhood were at his disposal on application to the Commander-in-Chief, then in the Northwest Provinces. The perfect secresy and order with which great military movements might be made, was illustrated by the Cashmere expedition in 1846, when 25,000 men, of whom 10,000 were British troops, were pushed across the Chenaub almost before the existence of commotion was surmised by the public. Arrangements more perfect, or more perfectly adequate for all that could be apprehended, could not be conceived. They could only have failed to fulfil the ends in view from fatuity which feared to make use of them when they required to be used. We were no better off with 20,000 men and 100 guns ready, but never ordered, to take the field than with so many empty cantonments! The Seikh Army, again, which in 1844 had amounted to 85,000 men with 350 guns, all located betwixt the Ravee and Sutlej, within two forced marches of our frontier, was reduced to 32,000 men and 50 guns, scattered over the whole face of the country. There were at Ramnuggur and Shahpoor about 12,000, and betwixt the Jhelum and Indus about 5,000. Beyond the Indus there were about 7,000, of whom 5,000 were at Peshawur. At Lahore itself there were 2,000, at Govindghur 600. At Mooltan were about 3000 troops belonging to the Nazim, not included in the Durbar muster-roll.

Betwixt 1837 and 1846 our Armies had been encreased by about 120,000 men, incluing 834 British Officers. The expence of maintaining this gigantic force exceeded ten millions sterling a year. Scinde having become a British province, the Mahratta Army having been extinguished, and the Seikhs reduced from 200,000 men with 350 guns to 32,000 with 50 guns, Lord HARDINGE had reduced the British army by 50,000 men, leaving it still stronger by 70,000 than it had been on its last peace establishment. The reduction consisted in men alone—the strength of officers remained as formerly, so that it might be augmented to its former magnitude almost at a moment's warning. The Bengal Army was now infinitely better able to cope with any difficulty that might come in its way than it had been in 1837, when found perfectly sufficient for the duties assigned to it: it consisted exclusively of picked men, all the questionables being disposed of by the reduction. Nearly a half of the whole Europeans belonging to it were quartered in fine salubrious hill stations, where they were maintained in a state of health, comfort, and efficiency, such as could scarcely be surpassed in any tropical climate whatever. By this and other reductions, our annual expenditure had been diminished by about a million and a sixth. On the other side of the balance-sheet our income was increased by £56,000, derived from the ceded Seikh States, and £22,000 from the Lahore indemnity. The increase of the receipts from the Salt, but more especially from the Opium, tax, brought up the total to above a million sterling,—the diminished expenditure, and increased income, improving our balance-sheet by fully two millions a year. It was hoped, indeed, that in the course of the year 1848 Government would be relieved of its chief embarrassments, and orders were already given to resume the operations on the Doab Canal, on which a million sterling was to be expended, at the rate of a quarter of a million annually. Five thousand workmen were for this purpose collected at the close of the rains, and everything looked as auspiciously as possible. The construction of this Canal was sanctioned by the Court of Directors in 1841: it was hardly commenced when Lord ELLENBOROUGH's love of war caused the expenditure of the State so greatly to exceed its income, that all peace-improvements were sus-

pended. It is intended to be 270 miles in length : it will bring into cultivation nearly eight millions of acres of ground now comparatively barren, which needs but a supply of water to confer on it unbounded fertility. It will relieve two millions of human beings from the calamity of periodical famines, from which on some occasions they have so fearfully suffered that in 1837 Government expended £600,000 in relieving the distress that existed amongst them. A multitude of lesser canals and other water-works were projected and ordered to be commenced, and £10,000 was granted for the introduction of the cultivation of Tea on the Beas.

In the Punjaub, again, the aspect of affairs was equally favorable and gratifying. The reduced Seikh army was now placed in its proper position as servants of the State and protectors of the people, instead of being their masters and tyrants. All their arrears were paid up; marauding was put an end to; and a case having occurred of an officer obtaining supplies for his men without paying for them, the suppliers were immediately indemnified in full from the local treasury,—the amount being deducted from the pay of the delinquent, who narrowly escaped dismissal. The whole country had been surveyed, and the system of taxation laid down on fixed principles: the fiscal and excise system had been re-adjusted, and oppressive duties and Government monopolies of all sorts abolished. A census had been made, and the population and trades of Lahore determined; and the Durbar had sanctioned the outlay of £30,000 on roads and bridges, to be encreased to £60,000 when the state of the treasury allowed. In one year more in this way had been effected under the administration of Colonel LAWRENCE than had been ventured on during half a century within the Company's dominions. The people everywhere seemed contented and happy, and if now and then a paltry conspiracy was detected, it was easily put down, and not at all to be wondered at amongst a race whose whole existence was intrigue. To show their respect for the feelings of the English, all public business was ordered by the Durbar to be suspended on the Sabbath at Lahore and Peshawur.

So stood matters in the end of 1847, when Lord HARDINGE prepared to pass the reins of government into the hands of his successor. On the 5th of January Lord DALHOUSIE first set foot on the shores of Hindostan, having visited Madras to spend some days with his relative the Marquis of TWEEDDALE, then on the point of retiring from India. On the 12th he arrived at Calcutta, and was immediately inducted into the office of Governor-General. Though scarcely thirty-five years of age, and the youngest man who had ever held the most important appointment under the Crown, few men ever received a more cordial welcome at the seat of government, or entered on his office with a more general prejudice in his favour. Lord HARDINGE retired on the 13th February from India, with the good wishes of all the lovers of peace and prosperity of the country,—the two statesmen having had a month to consult and arrange together on State affairs. With Lord HARDINGE, Colonel LAWRENCE, Plenipotentiary at Lahore, returned to England,—the severity with which he applied himself to business and taxed his faculties in the discharge of his duties having so impaired his health that a short sojourn in Europe was considered indispensable for him. The distinguished party minutely examined the works at Aden on their way home: they had been already carefully inspected by the Governor-General three years before. They proceeded by Cossier across the Desert to Thebes and spent some time in Egypt,—so returning to England by Trieste and down the Rhine. Sir F. CURRIE, Secretary with the Governor-General during the Seikh war and so on to the end of 1847, had, in consequence of the eminence of his services, been Knighted and appointed to the office of Provisional Member of Council: on the departure of Sir GEORGE POLLOCK from India he was summoned to the Council Board, and from provisional became permanent councillor. Fully in the confidence of Lord HARDINGE, and understood to be the adviser or advocate of many of the ablest of his measures, he was appointed Resident at Lahore during the absence of Colonel LAWRENCE, as not only eminently qualified for the office by natural talent and

perfect familiarity with the whole system of the policy desired to be pursued, but as being able to vacate the Residency on the return of the late Resident, and resume his seat at the Council Board without upsetting any arrangement or interfering with the plans or prospects of any one. Sir JOHN LITTLER—the distinguished defender of Ferozepore in 1845, and afterwards for two years commander of the garrison at Lahore—had now been promoted to a seat in Council as military member, in room of Sir GEORGE POLLOCK, and the command fell to the share of Major-General WHISH, to whom the command of the Punjaub division was assigned. Mr JOHN LAWRENCE, of the Bengal Civil Service—a man inheriting a large share of the talent of the favoured family to which he belonged, and well known to Government as an able revenue officer—was appointed to the temporary charge of the Residency in the interval betwixt the departure of Colonel LAWRENCE and arrival of Sir FREDERICK CURRIE. Sir JOHN LITTLER left Lahore on the 20th of January and reached Calcutta on the 21st of February, and was immediately sworn in as Military Member of Council. Sir F. CURRIE arrived at Lahore on the 6th of March. Mr. JOHN LAWRENCE received a public dinner on the 4th, on the eve of his departure, and proceeded to the Jullundhur Doab, of which he was in revenue charge. The most profound tranquillity at this time reigned throughout the Seikh States. The revenue survey was proceeding rapidly, and lands along the river's bank, yielding half a million annually, had by this time been all surveyed and fairly assessed. From our new dominions it was ascertained we should this season receive £320,000 of land revenue and £ 60,000 of customs, though all our exactions were less by a third than those of our predecessors. Dr. FLEMING and a body of naturalists were busily engaged examining into the mineral resources of the country: Major NAPIER of the engineers, and Lieutenant HODGSON, were getting the principal canals put in order. On the 14th of March the whole of the troops doing duty at Lahore—consisting of artillery and cavalry, H. M.'s 10th and 53rd foot, the 8th, 13th, 36th, 46th, 50th, 52nd and 73rd N. I., about 10,000 in all—were inspected by the Commander of the Division and Brigadier. So profound was the state of tranquillity, and so absolute the absence of all alarm, that the Lahore correspondents of all the papers could scarcely from New-Year's Day till the end of March find subject for a paragraph. Affairs were now in process of developement which left no room for complaints of lack of news, or for congratulations on the continued state of tranquillity of the country.

MOOLTAN is the capital of a considerable district, occupying a large tract between the left bank of the Indus, and the right bank of the Sutlej, down to the junction of those two rivers. It is the largest town in the Punjaub, next to Lahore and Umritser, and its position, on the line of the commercial high road followed by the Lohanees in the conveyance of their goods from Central Asia to Hindoostan, has given it, especially of late, a great importance in a mercantile point of view. It has for many hundred years been one of the first places attacked by invaders from the West, and an ingenious traveller has fixed on it as the scene of ALEXANDER'S conflict with the Malli. It was taken by the first Mahomedan conqueror of Scinde, shortly after the religion of the false Prophet began to spread eastward; it fell into the hands of MAHMOOD of Ghuznee in the course of one of his numerous excursions into India; it was taken after a six months' siege by the grandson of TAIMOUR LUNG on the occasion of that scourge of mankind marching to Delhi; it has always been a place of importance, though sharing with the now ruined Depalpoor the honor of being the seat of the vice-regal government, and fell, with a large portion of the Punjaub, into the hands of the founder of the ill-fated Dooranee dynasty, AHMED SHAH ABDALLEE, about the middle of the last century. When Maharajah RUNJEET SINGH found himself strong enough, he made several attempts to wrest Mooltan from the possession of SURFURAZ KHAN, who held nominally under the Affghan monarch of the day (MAHMOOD of Herat and others), and after being repelled two or three times, finally succeeded in his object. He stormed the citadel in the year 1818, and Mooltan was the only valuable acquisition of the Seikh Lion obtained by sheer

force of arms; and it was even against his wishes that such was the case. The storm was commenced by a fanatic Akhalee, and the Seikh troops followed without order or regularity, but with so much impetuosity that the place was carried, —at a sacrifice, however, of some 1,900 men. After a little while the town and province of Mooltan were committed to the care of a Governor, who became the renter under the Seikh Government. The well known SAWUN MULL (a native of the district of Bahawulpoor) was Governor at the death of RUNJEET SINGH, and had acquired such power and influence, during his long incumbency, that he remained all but independent during the disturbed reign of KURRUCK SINGH. SAWUN MULL is known to have been always hostile to the British Government, but his hostility never manifested itself in any overt acts. In the course of some durbar dispute with some of his own men, he was wounded by the discharge of a pistol, (accidental according to some, not so according to others to whose opinion we incline,) and died of his wounds a few days after. The state of anarchy had already become so great in the capital that his eldest son, Dewan MOOLRAJ, was permitted to assume charge of the province without any opposition on the part of the Lahore Government, though something like the farce of a ratification was sought and obtained. Domestic broils, however, did not allow to the domination of Dewan MOOLRAJ the amount of influence enjoyed by his father, whose younger son claimed a share in the rule, and endeavoured, on various occasions, to assert his right. This was subsequently recognized to a limited extent by a pecuniary allowance, and the grant of a jagheer. On the conclusion of the Seikh war, Dewan MOOLRAJ was confirmed in his rule by the Regent Government, but soon after LALL SINGH, anxious to secure for himself as large a share of influence as possible in every part of the territories of the boy King, found occasion to pick a quarrel with MOOLRAJ, and sent his brother, BHUGWAN SINGH, against him,—ostensibly to compel a settlement of accounts, but in reality to obtain possession of the principality, of which BHUGWAN SINGH was to be new Governor on the expulsion of the old one. Circumstances prevented his plans being fully carried out, but he succeeded in wresting the district of Junnuk from the Dewan, and conferred that on his brother pending the ultimate completion of his wishes. Dewan MOOLRAJ was subsequently summoned to Lahore personally to settle his accounts, and came to the capital on the guarantee of the British officers, having good reason to believe himself the object of a scheme to take his life. During his visit to Lahore a settlement of a very favorable nature to him was made, and he was again confirmed in the Government of Mooltan. On the downfall of LALL SINGH, and the execution of the second or minority treaty, which placed the whole of the Punjaub at the disposal of the British Indian Government, the rights of Dewan MOOLRAJ, so recently tacitly confirmed by Lord HARDINGE, were respected. It appearing, however, subsequently, that it would be highly desirable to place the whole of the kingdom of DHULEEP SINGH on one and the same footing as to the settlement, &c., negotiations were, as we have every reason to believe, set on foot, to induce Dewan MOOLRAJ to resign his charge,—he receiving, we presume, a fair equivalent for the loss entailed.* These negotiations having, to all appearance, been brought to a successful issue, Mr VANS AGNEW, an assistant to the Resident, and Lieutenant ANDERSON, were deputed to install Sirdar KHAN SINGH, the newly-appointed Governor, under the new arrangements, about the 4th or 5th April; and they arrived at Mooltan on the 18th. They were accompanied by a small escort of about 350 men. The particulars of the attack made on these two officers were received at Lahore on the 21st, but they were considered there as the acts of mere fanatics, quite independent of any general feeling, and so described, we believe, in the only letter received from Mr AGNEW after his being wounded; but the dak communication being immediately afterwards cut off, the Resident, Sir FRED. CURRIE, lost no time in issuing orders to the troops at Anarkullee to hold themselves in readiness to march on Mooltan, the interruption of the daks seeming to indicate that the movement, which had commenced in the murderous attack on the two British Of-

* The above is copied from the *Delhi Gazette*.

fiecrs, was much more general than had been surmised in the first instance. On the 24th, a troop of horse artillery, a wing of H. M.'s 14th light dragoons, and one regiment of irregular cavalry, were to march at once from Ferozepore, to be joined on their way by H. M.'s 10th foot, the 8th and 50th N. I., and a light field-battery from Lahore. The arrangement was modified on the 26th, when the head-quarters of the 14th dragoons, the 10th irregular cavalry, a troop of horse artillery, and the 49th N. I., were ordered to form a brigade, under Colonel HAVELOCK, and to join the Lahore moveable brigade under Brigadier CAMPBELL,—the whole force, about 6000 strong with 18 guns, to march on Mooltan immediately. LANE'S horse artillery, and the 31st and 32nd N. I, were ordered to hold themselves in readiness. They might have reached by the third week of May, and as MOOLRAJ at this time had only about 3000 followers, it is more than likely that the insurrection would have been put down at once. On the 27th, tidings of the murder of our officers reached Lahore, and the troops were all directed to stand fast. Orders were also forwarded to the Nawab of Bahawulpore to proceed to the rescue with all his available forces, Mooltan being only about 45 miles distant from Bahawulpore, and hopes were entertained that the officers having taken refuge in an eedgah outside the town, they would be able to hold out until the arrival of assistance from the Bhawul Khan. It was thought advisable, at the same time, to send orders to Lieut. HERBERT EDWARDES, then in the Derajat, somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Tukht-i-Soliman, to cross the Indus, and march on Mooltan with the considerable Seikh force then at his disposal for the reduction of the extensive country between Kalabagh and Dhera Ismael Khan; while Rajah SHERE SINGH was directed to proceed at once from Lahore with some 3000 Seikh troops, and hasten on to the scene of disturbance. The following extract from a letter published in the *Delhi Gazette* shortly after the murder, gives a fuller, and apparently a more correct, account of the whole proceedings than is anywhere else to be found:—

"AGNEW and ANDERSON, accompanied by KHAN SINGH, who was to succeed MOOLRAJ, arrived at Mooltan on the 18th. They were received with all apparent frankness and cordiality, and on the 19th MOOLRAJ went through the ceremony of handing over the place to them. AGNEW placed guards over the gates, and was issuing out of the last, about 100 yards behind ANDERSON, who was riding along with MOOLRAJ. Whilst in the act of mounting his horse, a couple of Suwars rode up and cut him down. KHAN SINGH, who was with him, immediately jumped off his horse and protected him from further injury, mounted him on an elephant, and conveyed him towards the eedgah outside the town, which had been assigned as their residence. They saw no more of MOOLRAJ, but found ANDERSON lying by the road-side dreadfully wounded, and nearly dead from loss of blood. Directly they got into the eedgah, the guns of the place opened on them, and continued firing the whole day. The range, however, was too long, and no damage was done, as the building was substantial and surrounded by a purdah wall, which sheltered them and their escort, consisting of three hundred Sikh troops, (Goorkhas) seventy Suwars, and six light guns. On the morning of the 20th, the Mooltanees moved out and surrounded them. KHAN SINGH, in command of the troops, asked what was to be done? AGNEW replied, fight it out to the last: on which the Sirdar ordered the infantry to reserve their fire until the enemy came close. On these approaching, the whole escort moved out, and went over to them. AGNEW on this told the Sirdars to provide for their own safety: this they refused, but drew their swords, and expressed their resolution to stand by the British officers. AGNEW had scarcely time to bid ANDERSON, who could hardly sit up on account of his wounds, good bye, when the enemy rushed in upon them. AGNEW presented his pistol at the first man; the piece missed fire, but he cut him down, when they were immediately both overpowered and put to death. Their heads were cut off, and every indignity offered to their bodies. KHAN SINGH was wounded by a matchlock ball, and bound hand and foot. Sir FRED. CURRIE received the report, under AGNEW'S hand, of the state of affairs up to the evening of the 19th, and the rest was supplied by native news-writers."

Lieutenant EDWARDES was believed to be at Bunnoo when written to by Mr AGNEW on the 18th of April: in reality he was employed in collecting revenue in the Derajat. He received the letter on the 22nd April, when encamped with a regiment of infantry, two guns, twenty zumbooruks, and three hundred sowars, at Dhera Futteh Khan, half way to Mooltan from Bunnoo. He immediately commenced crossing the river, and on the 24th all his men were on the hither side.*

* The Delta-formed districts betwixt the rivers are called Doabs: thus we have the Sind Sagur Doab, betwixt the Chenaub and the Indus,—the Jetch Doab, betwixt the Chenaub and Jhelum, the Rechna Doab betwixt the Ravee and Chenaub,—the Beere Doab, betwixt the former of these rivers and the Sutlej,—and the Jullundhur Doab, now a British possession, betwixt the Beas and the Sutlej.—A zumbooruck is a light camel-gun.

On the 25th he obtained possession of Leiah, the capital of the Sindh Sagur Doab. Here he became aware of the murders at Mooltan, and he wisely resolved on limiting his operations to the security of the Doab, and the collection of the revenue of the present harvest.—Colonel CORTLANDT, the Governor of Dhera Ismael Khan, was in his neighbourhood, with about 2000 men, besides fifteen guns, but the men were not to be depended upon. Lieut. EDWARDES had just before been within the Mooltan dominions, and succeeded in collecting a considerable amount of revenue due to the Durbar. About the 16th May, finding his position getting uncomfortable, he placed the Indus between him and his enemies, crossing over to the Derajat, about half way betwixt the two principal cities in the district, Dhera Ismael Khan on the southwest, and Dhera Ghazee Khan on the northeast. Three hundred horsemen whom he had left behind in possession of Leiah were on the 18th attacked by 400 of the enemy, when the latter were beaten and put to rout: twelve were slain, and their guns were all captured. Simultaneously with the accounts of this victory, information was brought him that the Mooltan army, 7000 strong, with fifteen guns, were on their march to attack Colonel CORTLANDT, and he immediately wrote to the Nawaub of Bahawulpore urging him to advance from the south to his assistance. The officer in question had meanwhile quitted the fortress under his charge and proceeded southward by the foot of the mountains. On arriving at Haree, sixteen miles north of Sunghur, they were joined by MELAH KHAN Belooch, with 100 of his tribe. The Belooch Chief was requested to move on Sunghur and attack it: and after six hours' hard fighting, the garrison, finding further opposition fruitless, surrendered, and were suffered to retire in the direction of Mooltan. KORA KHAN (Khosa) with his son having also joined head-quarters, they were directed to proceed against Dhera Ghazee Khan. The chief collected some eight hundred of his tribe, and moved rapidly along the base of the hills. On arriving under the walls of the fort, the garrison were ordered to surrender, when the commander said he would resist and abide by the issues of war. The garrison now quitted the fortress, and 300 horse and foot, with one gun, marched out to meet the enemy. The fighting quickly became exceedingly hot, when the carriage of the Seikh gun was destroyed. The Beloochee matchlock fire having become most destructive, the men of the garrison broke everywhere, and took refuge in flight. Their Commander fell from his horse, was severely wounded, and taken prisoner. The force left within the fortress, under ABDOOL RAHMON KHAN, observing the fate of their fellow soldiers, offered to capitulate, and had permission granted them to evacuate the city and retire on Mooltan. Colonel CORTLANDT quickly followed his victorious emissary, and was joined by Lieut. EDWARDES almost immediately after having reached that city. The joint forces of the two, including the Belooch levies, amounted to above 7,000,—all good men and true: the whole of the army of MOOLRAJ was short of 9000, of whom not one-third deserved the name of soldiers. The Kardars of Dhera Ghazee Khan and Sunghur had both been slain by our Belooch friends,—men much less ceremonious in such matters as these than we should have required to have been. On hearing of these things MOOLRAJ redoubled his exertions to encrease his strength: a message was sent to Leiah appointing a new commander, and, leaving with him a force of 400 men, the rest of the troops here, as well as along the frontier, were directed to fall back on the capital. The confidential advisers of the Dewan strongly recommended him to send ambassadors to our Government to endeavour to persuade them that not with him but with his turbulent followers lay the blame of the murder of our officers: from other accounts he appears to have acknowledged his guilt, but pleaded temptation from Lahore.

Let us now turn to the Capital, where an absurd panic had arisen, and all was for a time tribulation. When the Mooltan disturbances began, it was affirmed that not a Chief in the Punjaub was free of the imputation of treason—not a Seikh Sirdar to be trusted. On the 7th of May a trooper of Captain WHELER'S irregular horse informed his commanding officer that there was a deep laid plot abrewing to secure our sepoys and massacre the Europeans of the force. The conspirators were found in full conclave: three of them were on the 9th tried and

convicted; and two days after this they were taken out to the place of execution. One was pardoned on promise of disclosing all: a dismissed officer of the old service, and an agent of the Queen Mother, were hanged. The MAHARANEE CHUNDA herself having been too deeply implicated longer to escape, was immediately sent off under an escort to the holy city of Benares. A wing of the 14th dragoons and a regiment of irregular horse were pushed on to Lahore, and every precaution prudence warranted adopted to prevent surprise. The plot seemed too absurd to have gained any considerable number of supporters; and but some dozen of sepoys of bad character out of a force of 7000 native troops had been successfully tampered with. It was it seems arranged that at a certain hour of a certain night ten men were to proceed to the quarters of every English officer and murder him—it being assumed, apparently, that this could be very easily effected, and that the game would then be in their hands. No arrangements seem to have been thought of for disposing of nearly 3000 European soldiers; nor does any resistance on their part to the massacre—in which, had it advanced, they themselves would have been involved—seem to have been anticipated! The unfaithfulness of the entire native army, without which nothing could have been accomplished, was taken for granted! These rumours having blown over, and no insurrection or disorder having anywhere else appeared, speculation awoke again as to what was to be done when the campaigning season came on; and the arrangement most generally believed in was, that the Governor-General would proceed to the frontier, and the Commander-in-Chief take the field with 30,000 men, so soon as the cold weather permitted; and the pertinacity with which relief was refused at the time it could have been made available, gives colour to the idea that Lord GOUGH having made up his mind to have a campaign on a great scale never lost sight of the object primarily in view. The suppression of the insurrection was to be deferred till it had made such head as to admit of a regular campaign, and the weather should be agreeable for fighting! Lord GOUGH's success in bringing about an occasion for the accomplishment of this was probably greater than he at first expected. In May, when a petty outbreak in which probably not 5,000 were in all concerned, which 3,000 men well employed at the time might have extinguished, all assistance was refused; and had the object been to bring about an universal insurrection so as to ensure a general war in the Country of the Five Rivers, a better plan to attain it could not have been devised than that which was adopted. December found a field force in the Punjaub of fifty thousand men, fifteen thousand having been required for the capture of Mooltan,—the siege having been raised when 7,000 were employed,—23,000 immediately under Lord GOUGH himself being unable to stir till the besieging army could assist them! So soon as the tidings of the insurrection reached the outstations, the various political agents reported that all was tranquil in their districts, and that there seemed no reason for the present to apprehend any manifestation of disaffection. They all stated as plainly as their position permitted, that the outrage which had been committed ought instantly to be punished—that delay was sure to lead to further deeds of violence, if not to general insurrection. This council was repeated as matters went on—especially by Major LAWRENCE at Peshawur, with all the frequency and fervency his position permitted,—but all unhappily in vain.

At this time the troops of Lieut. EDWARDES and Colonel CORTLANDT had joined; success had on various minor occasions attended their arms; Dhera Ghazee Khan had fallen into their hands, and the whole of the territories just beyond the Indus were in their possession. The Nawaub of Bahawulpore, who had been applied to for assistance when Captain EDWARDES had reason to believe his troops in extremity, continued to make preparations for advance when he knew matters had mended; and was recommended by Sir F. CURRIE, Resident at Lahore, to proceed as he had proposed to have done from the beginning. The whole of the Bahawulpore troops, amounting to about 6000 horse and foot and nine guns, under FUTTEH MAHOMED Ghoree, crossed the river on the 30th and 31st of May, and reached Jellalpoor on the 3d June. A small detachment of 80 Bahawulpore horsemen having been sent ahead to occupy a considerable village on their line of march,

unexpectedly found themselves in presence of a body of 700 Mooltanees who had been driven from the Derajat by Lieutenant EDWARDES. The fortune of the conflict, with numbers so unequal, could not long be doubtful, and the lesser party, after being roughly handled by the larger, retired. On the 10th and 11th June, Lieut. EDWARDES crossed the Indus with his forces, having left at Dhera Gazee Khan two guns, 300 horse and foot, and also the Katar Mohie Regiment, just arrived from Bunnoo. On the 14th, the enemy, who had moved out to meet them, and were most anxious to prevent a junction, crossed the Chenab, with the exception of about 1000 men and two guns, which at first halted at Khan Ghur, but made the passage next day on seeing our onward movement. On the 15th, Lieut. EDWARDES and the mounted branch of his forces reached Khan Ghur also: on the following day the guns and infantry under Colonel CORTLANDT joined him there. Their camp was pitched about a mile from the Chenab, the enemy being encamped on the opposite side: they were expected to steal off during the night. The great point was to effect a junction before any attack should be made upon them, and much anxiety was consequently felt at the want of means to get across. However, finding that all the boats at Khan Ghur were in the possession of the enemy, the force marched down twenty-four miles to Gungawallah, opposite to which the Bhawul Khan's force was encamped, about three miles from the ferry; and here there were some forty-five boats found available. At midnight EDWARDES managed to cross some 3,000 of the new levies, who joined the Bhawul Khan by early dawn. The enemy were now encamped at Bugurarah, some eight miles from the ferry, and four from the Nawab's force. Thus stood affairs till about ½ past 6 A. M. on the 18th, when Lieut EDWARDES himself crossed. He had scarcely landed when the enemy, who had marched from Bugurarah (seeing the Bhawul Khan's force on the move) opened on them with their great guns, which they returned, but were pressed so heavily that THEIR 'RIGHT' was obliged to fall back. On their '*left*' Lieut. EDWARDES had posted himself with the new levies, who were all dismounted, sufficient boats not being at hand to cross the horses. With this handful of recruits (most of them boys,)—without cavalry, and without guns,—Lieut. EDWARDES bravely held his position, and *without yielding an inch*. The enemy had ten guns, four regiments of infantry, and a large body of cavalry, in all about 8,000 men; while, on the other side, the Bhawul Khan's force consisted of eleven guns, two regiments of infantry and cavalry, amounting nearly to 9,000. The action, which commenced soon after sunrise, raged incessantly till about two P. M., when the enemy, finding that the Bhawul Khan had fallen back on the right, made a desperate attack on Lieut. EDWARDES with the whole of their force. His position was now one of imminent danger, his guns not having yet arrived: only one or two of the Nawab's at this time were firing. Now turned the fortune of the day; for, at this critical moment, two of Colonel CORTLANDT'S regiments, with two guns, arrived, speedily followed by four more, which did good service. The regiments behaved bravely, and the guns, with grape and cannister, poured destruction on the foe. Six guns were taken at the point of the bayonet, and the enemy followed several miles. Their loss must have been very great: all their camp-baggage and stores having fallen into our hands Two guns they managed to carry off. The remnant of their scattered force fled to Mooltan, which was only twenty miles distant. Our loss was comparatively small, considering that the battle lasted from 7 A. M. till past 3 in the afternoon. Though Colonel CORTLANDT and the men who were with him followed each other as fast as they could pour out of the boats,—literally running across the intervening space to join Lieut. EDWARDES—yet the two first regiments and guns may be said to have given the turn to the day, and settled the affair; till these arrived, the action was very severe and doubtful. EDWARDES worked hard, and was in advance of all,—where, in fact, he had been the whole morning. He had rather a narrow escape, a ball having passed through his sleeve under the arm. The Seikhs fought desperately; they charged three times sword in hand. Our guns poured grape and cannister on them, but it was a *hand-to-hand fight* several times during the day, and many were found amongst the dead who had received their

death-blows by swordcuts. Thus ended the Waterloo of the Punjaub, as it may well be called, being fought on the glorious anniversary, the 18th of June. The loss in killed and wounded—at first as usual enormously exagerated,—is said to have amounted on the part of the force of Lieut. EDWARDES to 100; on that of the BHAWUL KHAN to 200—or on our side to 300 in all: MOOLRAJ having had 380 casualties.* It is probable that not 200 dead of all the armies were in all left upon the field. On the 20th the chief men of the towns of Soojabad and Kote came into camp requesting that Government officers might be placed over them; and accordingly 500 troops were sent out to the former place, where a new ruler was formerly appointed. On the 22d the allied forces were again in motion, and by the 26th they had reached within a moderate distance of Mooltan, where they encamped near a fort called Secundrabad, in the hands of the enemy. The place was of no great strength, but as it was inexpedient that any considerable risk should be run, 3000 men with six guns were sent against it. So soon as these were seen from the walls, the men of the garrison went out to meet them and craved for peace. This of course was conceded them: the fort was quietly taken possession of, and a proper Governor appointed.

Up to near the end of June Lieutenant EDWARDES was the only English officer with the allied troops of Lahore and Bahawulpore, hourly expecting a further encounter with the insurgents. It seemed at length to have occurred to the authorities that to fasten the whole responsibilities on one man, and risk the issue of the campaign on a single life—for had EDWARDES fallen all would have been lost,—was rather too much even in the east; and Lieutenant LAKE, of the engineers, was accordingly dispatched from Lahore—forming in himself the councillor and executive in this department for the capture of a fortified town. He joined his gallant companion in arms about the 29th June. A Mr QUIN—an Englishman who had apparently been for some time in the Derajat—on hearing that the armies were sorely in want for carriage, had about the beginning of June made his way across the country, collecting camels as he went. He arrived a couple of days too late for the action of the 18th of that month: he seems to have been known and confided in by Colonel CORTLANDT, who entrusted him with the command of a corps. On the 27th, the combined army once more marched in the direction of Mooltan, and were joined near Soojabad by a number of Mahomedan Chiefs and their followers. The Sheikh EMAM-OOD-DEEN—the Mahomedan leader of the Cashmeer insurrection in 1846—was on his way with a considerable force to assist the main army, and was ordered to join without a moment's delay. On the morning of the 1st July the insurgent force, some 12,000 strong with eleven guns, was seen advancing: the combined army mustered nearly 18,000, with twenty light field guns. Lieutenant LAKE commanded the Bahawulpore troops, or Daudpootras as they are called: Lieutenant EDWARDES and Colonel CORTLANDT the men who had come with them from the Derajat, and those who had subsequently joined. Mr QUIN had solicited a command, and had assigned to him the Sooruj Mookee regiment of infantry. The battle soon became general, and was maintained with the utmost courage and perseverance on both sides for the space of six hours. The devotedness of the insurgents was peculiarly conspicuous: they never yielded an inch unless at the sword's point; and the frequent cuts and water-courses, and irregular nature of the ground, rendered it most difficult to dislodge them. Once and again did the scales librate and victory seem doubtful, but the heroism of Mr QUIN, a young man but an old soldier, and gallantry of the corps he led, carried the day. After some hours' exposure to a tremendous cannonade they charged and captured a two gun battery in a style that could only have been excelled with British troops: a rush of the whole, cavalry and infantry, followed, and the broken army fled from the hard-fought field in irremediable disorder. The howdah (elephant chair) of MOOLRAJ was struck with a cannon shot, and his highness knocked off his elephant: he then betook himself to horseback, and fled into the town. Not only was Lieutenant EDWARDES without ordnance fit for anything

* This account of the action of the 18th June is taken nearly verbatim from the *Delhi Gazette*.

beyond a field engagement, but he had not cavalry enough to improve the results of a victory. Though twice beaten, the enemy was not dispirited: the contending troops lay encamped facing each other in grim defiance—the invading army unable to advance without giving the enemy an opportunity of attacking them, of which they were not likely to be slow of availing themselves,—without guns to batter, or mortars to shell, the town, and too weak either to attempt escalade or investure. The insurgents lay encamped under the guns of the batteries, ready to fall back within the fort should danger threaten them—ready also for a sortie, surprise, or night attack, should occasion offer. On one occasion a plan for beating up Lieutenant EDWARDES' quarters was all arranged, when, just as it was about to be put in execution, it became known that the gallant officer had become acquainted with the purpose of his enemies, and was likely to be prepared to give them a very warm reception: so the project was abandoned. Lieut. EDWARDES was at this time suffering severely from a wound received in the hand from the explosion of a pistol. Lieutenant LUMSDEN had by this time joined from Lahore. Meanwhile, to mitigate the tedium of delay, and inspire his men with the semblance of activity, Lieut. EDWARDES directed large quantities of cotton to be collected from all quarters, to be used for stuffing bags to protect the working parties while opening up the approaches: three thousand pioneers and artificers were desired to be sent from Bahawulpore, and every preparation made that might enable him to take advantage of an accident, incommode the enemy, or at all events avoid delay in commencing operations when the battering guns did actually arrive. He took up a position some four miles from the town, and proceeded to fortify his camp, to save himself from the consequences of surprise. The glad tidings were now given out that a large army, with a powerful battering train, had at length been ordered to march to their assistance. On the 19th July the rumour ran that the insurgent forces were in full march towards the camp. Lieut. LUMSDEN immediately moved out to reconnoitre with a detachment of two hundred horsemen. The alarm was sounded, and the entrenchments in a moment manned. It turned out to have been a feint of the MOOLRAJ, who wished to draw his opponents from their camp, in hopes of laying an ambush for them, or taking them at advantage while he seemed to retire before them.

SECTION II.

AUTHORITY of the Resident at Lahore—Determination to despatch a force under General WHISH—Movements of the Head Quarter Colum by the Ravee—Progress towards Mooltan—Attack by the Seikhs.—The Ferozepore Column—Arrival opposite Bahawulpore—Arrival at Mooltan—Arrival of the Siege Train.—Cutting off the Canal by MALLEE SINGH—Commencement of Operations against Mooltan—Determination to attempt by Assault—Changed to approaches by Regular Parallels—Severe loss on 9th September—Approach within 600 yards of the Walls—Desertion of SHERE SINGH—Raising of the Siege.

THE Resident at Lahore was invested with absolute controul over a force of 10,000 men, retained at the capital expressly for the use of the Durbar; and he was fully authorized to call in the aid of as many of the advanced guard—amounting to about 30,000 men—as could be spared, should occasion seem to require. Reference was made to the Commander-in-Chief—to the Governor-General-in-Council—from Lahore to Simla and Calcutta, and from Calcutta to Simla back again to Lahore,—this slight and temporary movement requiring as much meditation and delay as might have sufficed for a general war. Clamour now became loud and vehement: Lord GOUGH was understood to be in the last degree opposed to an advance before October, and anxious to move with a grand army of 20,000 or 30,000 men against an enemy a body of irregulars with a couple of subalterns at

their head had hitherto been able to keep in check. The great bugbear had been the danger the European troops would suffer in marching during the hot and rainy months, and the difficulty of transporting the battering guns. After numberless orders and counter-orders,—resolutions to do something and determinations to wait instructions,—orders were early in July at last given to march on Mooltan a force of 7000 men with 50 guns, in two columns from Lahore and Ferozepore. The wonderful discovery was at length made that there was no occasion for Europeans to march or guns to move overland at all! The Sutlej washed the walls of the cantonment at Ferozepore, and enabled troops to be transported to the very point from which the Bahawulpore army had marched without difficulty in the beginning of June. The Ravee and Chenab, two other navigable rivers, passed within a few miles of both capitals, and would take any body of men for whose transport boats could be found, from close to Lahore to close to Mooltan! Boats which ought to have been collected in May, had now for the first time to be thought of, and no small delay and difficulty was experienced in obtaining the requisite supply. Lieutenant CHRISTOPHER, of the India Navy—an officer of much experience, spirit, and enterprize, by whom all the navigable rivers of the Punjaub had been examined,—proceeded up the Indus from Sukkur, and afterwards up the Chenaub, to within four miles of MOOLTAN, with the steamers *Comet*, *Meeanee*, and *Conqueror*; while the *Planet* and *Nimrod* steamed up the Sutlej with some heavy artillery stores, to be landed opposite Bahawulpore, and taken on with the advancing column. They proceeded thence upwards to Ferozepore, to take charge of the battering train. The head-quarter column, commanded by General WHISH in person, marched from Lahore to the banks of the Ravee, whence one portion of them, proceeding by the river, embarked on the 21st. It consisted of H. M.'s 10th, a troop of horse and three companies of foot artillery, the 8th and 52nd N. I., and 7th Irregular Horse. The Europeans and artillery proceeded by boat—the rest of the force by the left bank of the river. On the 29th they crossed a nullah by a bridge of boats constructed by a company of Seikh artillery, under the political officer with the force, and an officer of H. M.'s 10th. The structure was so perfect as to excite universal admiration, and to permit the troops to march over it without delay or inconvenience. The country here was beautifully cultivated, and irrigated everywhere from the river. On the 31st, Col. STRICKLAND, of H. M.'s 10th, died of apoplexy. The land column was now close by the river, when the immense fleet of boats, covering nearly three English miles, sailed past them in beautiful style. Provisions were plentiful, and all the arrangements seemed excellent. On the 10th they were met by Captain CHRISTOPHER with the steamer sent to take the boats in tow: the officer just named immediately joined the General, and communicated to him a large amount of important information as to the position of the armies and state of the country. The river all along had been very winding, so that those on the water had a much longer distance than those on shore to traverse. The boats in this way once more fell behind, when again the steamer was seen shooting past with an immense train of them in tow down the stream. The country here seems to have been singularly beautiful: several heavy showers had fallen on the march, and some of the rivulets were at one time swollen into torrents, but no accident of any sort worth naming had occurred. About the 12th they met in with a detachment of Durbar troops, 1000 infantry and 500 cavalry—a strange and motley-looking set of warriors, but ready and efficient withal. Heavy firing in the direction of Mooltan was at this time heard, and detachments were sent out to scour the country, but no enemy was discovered. WHISH's camp was attacked on the 16th, while sixteen miles from Mooltan. About ten at night heavy firing was heard in the direction of the fortress. About midnight the Quartermaster-General rode into the camp of H. M.'s 10th, and told the commanding officer to be prepared for an attack. The tents were struck in a moment, and at two in the morning the enemy opened their fire. Finding themselves in front of the cavalry and artillery, they boldly advanced on the flank companies of the infantry thrown out to receive them. They were saluted by a heavy fire of musketry, when they retired. The skirmish lasted about an hour and a half. The

insurgent force was understood to amount to betwixt one and two thousand: they carried off their wounded, but left eighteen dead and some prisoners behind them. They appear to have expected to catch us off our guard, or with our hands full, preparing for the march. It was a bold adventure of MOOLRAJ to send a detachment of this size to his rear, with twenty thousand of his opponents on his front or on his flank. The light companies of H. M. 10th and the 8th Native Infantry were the only troops on our side engaged: we had seven or eight wounded, but no one killed. The column now moved on, and in two days more reached their encamping ground near to Mooltan; where on the 19th they were joined by the leading detachment of the Ferozepore brigade.

Turning for a little from this to the march of the other troops. The Ferozepore column consisted of the battering train of thirty-four heavy guns, H. M.'s 32d foot —both of which proceeded by water,—a troop of horse artillery, the 11th regular and 11th irregular cavalry, the 49th, 51st, and 72d N. I. They got nearly as far down as Bahawulpore by about the 12th Aug., with the exception of the train, and took the route direct for Mooltan. On this latter date they were encamped at a place called Kurrumpore. Captain MASTER, commanding the irregular horse, here received orders to move with three troops and a wing of the 49th N. I. to a landing-place near by, to stop the fleet of boats with H. M.'s 32nd: the remainder of the brigade was desired to move direct on Mooltan, then five marches distant. The other wing of the 49th, and the residue of the horse were ordered to the landing-place lower down, opposite Bahawulpore, to escort the train, ordnance stores, and heavy baggage. Hitherto all had gone well, but shortly after, the heat became tremendous: the thermometer in an hospital tent attempted to be cooled by wet blankets stood at 127°—in hill tents it could not be reduced lower than 118. The Battering Train was about to proceed from where it had been landed opposite Bahawulpore on the 18th, and remained till the 28th preparing for the march: two companies of H M.'s 32d, for which boats could not at first be procured, were on their way down the river. Escorts from the 11th Irregular Horse and 49th N. I. waited upon both detachments to protect their baggage. The 32nd had ninety sick on their arrival in camp, and had lost eighteen men on the way. On their arrival they speedily began to recover, and were soon, like the other troops around Mooltan, in the highest health and spirits. The country around Mooltan owes its fertility entirely to artificial irrigation, the water being conducted by canals from the Chenaub, and distributed in little rills over the fields: wells are abundant everywhere. On the occasion of the engagement of the 1st of July these had formed the chief strongholds of the enemy; and as the river was now near the period of flood, it was feared the country might be inundated. To prevent this, a party of one hundred workmen were detached from the main column on the 14th, and placed on board the steamer *Conqueror*, with an abundant supply of entrenching tools. An escort of one thousand Seikh soldiers with two guns, commanded by MALLEE SINGH, accompanied them, and were directed to establish themselves near the mouths of the Canals. Opposite one of these the steamer anchored in five feet water, and directed her heavy guns on the banks. The party of the Seikh commander threw up a strong entrenchment of about four hundred yards long from one canal to another, and placed their heavy 26-prs. in battery so as to prevent the consequences of surprise. An embankment across the canal was commenced by sinking a boat loaded with faggots and earth, but, the banks being of sand, the force of the water quickly carried the whole away. Another was begun at the mouth of the large canal: the current here was very violent, carrying off the earth almost as rapidly as it was thrown in, so that it was necessary to labour night and day. It was against the embanking party that the detachment which attempted the surprise on the 16th was understood to have been directed, but finding them in a position where there was no hope of attacking them with success, they directed their efforts against the main column. The insurgents continued indefati-

gable in their exertions, and were every now and then able to seduce a few Seikhs from our side, and to capture considerable numbers of baggage camels and bullocks. The Dewan MOOLRAJ tried to corrupt our sepoys, by an offer of a shilling a day of pay to them, with leave of absence once every three years, and a suitable pension: and a couple of deserters did on one occasion cross over to him, and were seen next day, and recognised by their accoutrements. On the 29th, the whole force moved forward a few hundred yards nearer the fort, and encamped in a line. Meanwhile the party employed in cutting off the supplies of the water-courses from the Chenaub were actively engaged some seventeen miles from Mooltan, protected by the steamers in the river, and by a thousand Seikhs under MALLEE SINGH, who were defended by heavy guns and entrenchments. The river rapidly rose, and twice were bunds of wood, stone, and mud, they had thrown up burst through, when, the waters once more subsiding, everything was got complete. These works were placed under the charge of MALLEE SINGH, with a powerful detachment of Seikhs: they were defended by strong entrenchments and heavy guns. The working party was next directed to cut down jungle and brushwood for facines and gabions, ten boat-loads of which were ordered to be sent down for the use of the besiegers. On the 1st September the General and Staff, with a body of engineer officers, reconnoitered the fort, and Lieutenant EDWARDES, with Lieutenant LAKE, Colonel CORTLANDT, and EMAUM-OOD-DEEN, with nearly the whole of the original attacking force, were sent round to the opposite side to make a feigned attack, and distract the attention of the enemy. They proceeded to taken possession of a garden, where a picquet of the enemy, which fired on them and then retired, was stationed. The troops now drew up in line. The Dewan, hearing the firing, made immediate arrangements to reinforce the outposts, and sent orders to them to maintain their ground as long as possible. Some sharp skirmishing appears to have ensued, when the Mooltanees were driven back at all points, and obliged to seek shelter in a ravine close to the town. The Daudpootras were at one time hardly pressed, but, being reinforced, rapidly recovered their ground. The artillery force for a short time occupied the position they had forced, when, as evening drew on, the object of their mission having been accomplished, they returned to camp unmolested. The reconnoitering officers consisted of General WHISH, commanding the forces, Colonel FRANKS, H. M.'s 10th, Colonel MARKHAM, H. M.'s 32nd, Major NAPIER, Engineers, with a number of amateurs. The escorting party was a strong one: it consisted of H. M.'s 10th, two companies of H. M.'s 32nd, wings of the 8th and 52nd N. I., six guns, a troop of the 11th cavalry, and eighteen troopers of WHEELER'S Horse. They made their way to the temple where Mr AGNEW and Lieutenant ANDERSON were murdered, at about 800 yards from the ramparts. So effectually had the garrison been occupied by the skirmish on the opposite side, that it was some time before the reconnoitering party were observed. So soon as they were perceived, a number of guns were brought to bear on them: the practice was beautiful, and the shot fell close beside them. One struck the temple; another struck the wall under the feet of Dr THORP, of the Irregular Horse, and just over the head of the General; another fell amongst the sappers, but luckily did no harm. Major NAPIER ascended the minaret, and had a fine view of all the works, and of the ground immediately around. The fire becoming disagreeable, the party returned by a detour some 1100 yards from the ramparts, the guns firing on them all the way,—the distance being such that the shot nearly all fell short. It was now apparent that the place was much stronger than had been imagined. The fort is about a mile, the city two miles, in circumference. The former is surrounded by a ditch twenty feet wide at bottom, and the defences are regularly constructed: the wall of the town joins that of the fort. The approaches are difficult, in consequence of the groves of large trees, the enclosed gardens, and mounds formed by old brick-kilns, which everywhere abound. The latter furnished excellent positions for the guns of the defenders, and obviously required to be taken in detail: the number of water-courses cutting the country in all directions was incredible—scarcely could a rider stir without falling in with some of them, indicating the extreme care bestowed on

cultivation, and the great capabilities of the country. It was free of marsh, and mostly well adapted for encamping ground. At this date Head-Quarters were about two miles from the east corner of the fortress; EDWARDES, LAKE, and the Bahawulpore troops, about three-quarters of a mile south-east of the town; and the Seikhs under SHERE SINGH immediately to the west. The besieging army, as may be remembered, now stood pretty nearly as follows:—H. M.'s 10th from Lahore and 32nd from Ferozepore, or in all about 2000*; the 8th, 49th, 51st, 52nd, and 72nd N. I., 3700 native infantry—5,700 in all; the 11th Light Cavalry, and 7th and 11th Irregular Horse. The artillery portion of the force consisted of the Siege Train of thirty-four guns, two troops of horse and a company of foot artillery, with sappers and miners, and a full engineer corps—the whole British portion amounting nearly to 8000 men. The strength of the army near Mooltan before the arrival of that under General WHISH, seems to have stood as follows—but here we are far from being assured of the accuracy of our facts: the troops of the BAHAWUL KHAN are estimated at 6000 or 7000; those accompanying Colonel CORTLANDT and Captain EDWARDES from the Derajat at from 4000 to 5000—probably 12000 in all, with twenty guns, though some estimates bring them up to 10,000 before the junction of Sirdar UTTUR SINGH with 6000 men, ten guns and two mortars, on the 14th July. These may be guessed in all, therefore, at probably not under 23,000 men with thirty guns. Besides these, SHERE SINGH, the Durbar leader, sent out in May from Lahore, had 3000 men under his command; so that the total number, regular and irregular, would probably not fall much short of 32,000 men, with some seventy-five pieces of ordnance of one sort or another at their disposal.—If we are uncertain of the strength of our own army, we are wholly in the dark as to that of the enemy: most accounts reckon it at from 7,000 to 12,000, with fifty-two guns. On the morning of the 4th Sept. the Siege Train arrived, and took up its position in the open space reserved for it. It consisted of thirty-four pieces of heavy ordinance. It was accompanied by an escort of the 11th Irregular Horse and 49th N. I.; two hundred and eighty bullock carts and 3500 camels were required to carry their stores; and such was the length of the train that the head of it had arrived at Mooltan before the other extremity had got out of camp eight miles behind. A proclamation was now made and distributed about the town, intimating that for the next twenty-four hours such of the inhabitants as desired it would find protection in camp—after this no one could be suffered to pass the gates. On the 5th, a grand parade of all the troops was ordered, and a royal salute was fired in honor of the occasion. This was returned by a continued discharge from the ramparts—which proved harmless, the shot having fallen short. Prize Agents were at this time appointed by the General—rather prematurely, as will presently appear. On the evening of the 6th, the mortar batteries opened, and a large number of shells were thrown into the town, doing considerable injury, and occasioning the utmost alarm. RUNGRAM SINGH a kinsman and principal officer of the Dewan, had been detected communicating with the Lahore Durbar, and was in consequence thrown into prison by his master. Six 18-pounders and four 8-inch mortars were ordered to be advanced towards the town in the course of the night. The howitzers and mortars were to be put in position about 1200 yards from the S. E. angle of the town, and when the suburbs and intervening grounds were cleared of the enemy by their fire, the 18-pounders were to be moved up within 400 or 500 yards of the walls, and battering to be commenced. A breach was expected to be established in the course of the day, when the town was to be carried by assault. The storming party to consist of H. M.'s 32nd, the 49th and 51st N. I., to be accompanied as far as possible by MCKENZIE'S Horse Artillery. It was expected that the storm would be attempted late in the afternoon of the 7th, or at daybreak on the 8th. Further consideration induced the General to alter the whole plan of his operations, and on consideration of the extreme determinedness of the enemy, the strength of the place, and the severity

* The Royal Regiments in India are generally kept up at about 1100 strong—we have assumed H. M.'s 10th and 32nd nearly 1000 bayonets each. The native infantry regiments at present are about 750; and on this we have grounded our estimate.

of the conflict likely to be carried on in the streets while the citadel continued in the hands of the insurgents, it was resolved to avoid so heavy and so superfluous a sacrifice of life as this was likely to occasion, and to proceed by regular approaches. It turned out afterwards that the enemy had improved their time, and very skilfully entrenched or fortified every tenable point betwixt our camp and the walls. On the evening of the 6th, as already stated, we had begun to throw shells into the town. The troops were ordered to assemble at three o'clock on the morning of the 7th, and the Quartermasters of regiments to meet the Quartermaster-General at daybreak to take up new ground for the force. Some time before daybreak the 72d N.I., three guns under Capt. ANDERSON, and the greater part of the 11th irregular horse, proceeded to take possession of a hamlet and mound where a gun had been placed, from which the enemy used to fire on our pickets. So soon as daylight allowed them, the 72nd threw out its skirmishers, and the artillery got into a position well sheltered from the guns both of the fort and city. After some sharp firing, in which the rifles played a conspicuous part, the enemy, at least five times as numerous as their assailants, were driven from their position. They took shelter in a village right under the guns of the city and fort: from this they were quickly driven at the bayonet's point by our troops,—nor did they slacken their speed till fairly within the town. The Dewan continued to ply his guns unceasingly from the walls: the shot passed over the heads of the parties for whom they were intended, and came rolling down towards the camp. The sappers and miners continued incessantly at work in the trenches,—eight hundred Europeans taking overnight the place of a corresponding number of sepoys kept at work throughout the day. On the morning of the 8th, the 52nd N. I. made an attack upon another outpost: they fired a heavy volley into the village, and then drove the enemy before them at the bayonet's point—scarcely any injury was sustained by them. Throughout the day it was held by three companies of the 52nd. On the following morning the 52nd was relieved by the 49th, and the post previously held by the three companies of the former was now occupied by a like number of the latter corps, amounting to 120, under a Captain and a Subaltern. The enemy were in possession of a strong post about 100 yards in front: from this they maintained a dropping matchlock fire on us, so well directed that the moment a man showed himself he was sure to be hit. It afterwards appeared that they had here strongly entrenched themselves, and as soon as night drew on, and the European soldiers of the 10th began to excavate a new parallel, a furious and deadly fire was opened on them: this they immediately returned—but with small effect, in consequence of the denseness of the thicket, and the shelter around. The officer commanding in the trenches at length attacked the garden and village from which the enemy were annoying us. Some companies of the 72nd here joined in the fray, and at first the enemy were driven out of their cover. The post in the garden was a strong one: in the village one large house full of men was loopholed; and though the door was forced by Lieutenant RICHARDSON, the troops failed to effect an entrance. So hot meanwhile was the fire of the enemy that the European soldiers were compelled to seek shelter, and ultimately to retire. The enemy pressed on them until they had fallen back on the entrenchments: they then moved off in line to re-occupy the garden from which they had at first been driven. The fire was not, it is said, surpassed in fury at Moodkee or Sobraon. Out of ninety men engaged, Her Majesty's 10th had forty wounded—almost all of them severely; the 49th N. I. twenty-eight. Brigadier MARKHAM, Lieutenants HOLLINSWORTH, RICHARDSON, and IRWIN, were all wounded. The post assailed was about six hundred yards from our outworks: the assault was boldly made, but the place was much too strong for capture. The detachment of the 49th was now strengthened by one company of H. M.'s 10th, and the rifle company of the 72nd. All night long the enemy continued to cannonade them, but luckily without doing much mischief. At daybreak on the 10th, some guns were got into position, and a tremendous discharge of round shot, grape, and shrapnell, was maintained for three hours—to all appearance, however, without effect: the enemy were well protected from danger, and seemed not to suffer from alarm. In the course of the forenoon

a battery was got advanced to within a very short distance of the post, and a heavy fire re-commenced, but without better results than that which had preceded. During the whole of the 11th, a virtual armistice was maintained on both sides, but the insurgents were now aware of the strength and importance of their position, and of the effect of night attacks upon us, and began to establish a regular battery in the garden. An order was now issued by General WHISH, directing an attack to be made on them about 7 o'clock on the morning of the 12th; the attacking force to consist of a troop of horse artillery, a squardon of cavalry from each of the three regiments, twelve companies of European and two regiments of Native infantry—above 2,500 in all. About seven in the morning they began to prepare batteries near the building from which they had on the 9th repulsed us: they were attacked by one European and two native regiments. The Europeans, remembering how their comrades had been foiled, and how they had suffered, fought like furies. They found 400 men in a narrow square, and shot or bayonetted every one of them. A mine had been blown up by them, and hundreds of scorched and shattered bodies were found piled over the ground. Sixty of those who had cut down Ensign LLOYD, when parleying with them, were destroyed by H. M.'s 10th—only five of the party escaping: the artillery destroyed 100 in one mass. Colonel PATTOUN and Quartermaster TAYLOR, H. M.'s 32d, Major MONTIZAMBERT of H. M.'s 10th, Ensign LLOYD of the 8th N. I., Lieut. CUBITT, 49th N. I., fell on the occasion. The wounded were—Capt. BALFOUR, H. M. 32d Foot, slightly; Lieut. KING, ditto, slightly; Lieut. SWINBURNE, ditto, slightly; Lieut. BIRTWHISTLE, ditto, ditto; Capt. MCGREGOR, H. M. 10th Foot, slightly; Col. FRANKS, ditto, slightly; Lieut. HERBERT, ditto, ditto; Major NAPIER, Engrs., ditto; Lieut. LAKE, ditto, ditto; Lieut. BINNY, Horse Artillery, ditto; Captain CHRISTOPHER, Indian Navy, badly, (he afterwards died of his wounds); Captain WROUGHTON, 8th Native Infantry, slightly; Lieutenant TURNBULL, ditto, ditto; Ens. FRED. KENNEDY, ditto, ditto; Lieutenant VIBART, 11th Light Cavalry, ditto. Major-General WHISH had a horse shot under him. A troop of horse artillery, a squadron of the 11th cavalry, and the 7th and 11th irregular horse, five companies of Her Majesty's 10th, with as many of Her Majesty's 32nd, the 8th and 49th Native Infantry, were the troops engaged. Col. FRANKS commanded one column of five companies of Europeans and a native corps, Colonel PATTOUN another—the whole under Brigadier HERVEY. The success, though dearly purchased, was of much importance. It placed all the defensible points on this side the city in our hands, and enabled the battering guns to be advanced within six hundred yards of the wall—a position they could not have attained by regular approaches in less than a week. About two o'clock on the morning of the 13th a furious attack was made on EDWARDES' camp—fortunately without effect. On the 14th the British troops carried the Hummund Ghurree, or outwork, having previously occupied a position close beside it. From this new post the batteries were supposed likely to be able to fire into the fort and town, without impediment, and everything now seemed drawing to an auspicious close. It was hoped that breaching might be begun almost at once, and, considering that we were within almost point-blank distance of the walls, it was supposed that in thirty or forty hours at the outside the assault might be commenced,—when a sudden act of treachery on the part of our allies blighted all our prospects, and compelled us to raise the siege and convert the beseiging army into one of observation. It has been repeatedly stated that SHERE SINGH, a Seikh officer and nobleman of distinction, was dispatched early in May by the Durbar with a force of 3000 men, with a view, it was said, of keeping the MOOLRAJ in check. We know little of his proceedings until we find him in company with Colonel CORTLANDT and Lieutenant EDWARDES before Mooltan. It does not appear that he took any active share in military operations, and his fidelity was said to be held more than questionable. In the end of July his father, CHUTTUR SINGH, Governor in the Hazareh province, at the other extremity of the Punjaub, headed an insurrection, said to have been promoted with a view of taking advantage of the absence of our troops from Lahore. About seven o'clock on the morning of the 14th, information was brought

to Lieutenant EDWARDES that the Rajah SHERE SINGH had gone over to the enemy, taking with him above 5000 Seikhs, with twelve guns and howitzers, and eighty of the lighter pieces called zumboorucks. The movement appeared to have taken both parties equally by surprise: latterly we had in some measure ceased to suspect,—and so dubious was the Dewan of the trustworthiness of his new allies that he for a time assigned them quarters beyond the walls, but under the batteries of the town. With so formidable a defection from our strength—so large an accession to that of the enemy—it became at once obvious that it would be imprudent for the present to continue the siege. We had already seen with what desperation our opponents were determined to resist us; and with 5,000 added to their numbers—men belonging to the old Seikh army, and who knew that now they fought with halters round their necks, and could not even look for quarter,—it was vain to proceed until reinforcements arrived: General WHISH, therefore, had his camp removed to a safe distance from their batteries, while the guns and all the working parties were called in, and our force was transformed into an army of observation occupying a fortified camp. During the 15th the large guns were withdrawn, under a heavy but ineffectual fire from the trenches, which was accomplished, under the directions of Major WHEELER, by one in the afternoon. The horse artillery guns followed about sunset and when it became dusk the whole of the infantry retired, leaving a small detachment as a picquet in the Ram Teerut. So ably had the operations throughout the day been conducted that not a single casualty occurred on our side. During the night the tents were struck, and the baggage packed ready for a start. Early on the morning of the 16th the army was put in motion, and commenced its march. It crossed the large canal to Soorujkhoond, seven miles to the southwest of the city,—1,500 of EDWARDES' horse and a few of CORTLANDT's guns protecting our flanks. The 2nd or Ferozepore brigade of infantry, and the 11th cavalry, with the heavy ordnance, and the greater portion of the baggage, under command of Brigadier SALTER, started at an early hour: the 1st or Lahore brigade, with the 11th irregular cavalry, under Brigadier HERVEY, remaining on the ground till everything had left. It was unfortunately found impossible to procure carriage for all the ammunition and stores, so that a large quantity of the latter, and about twenty-five camel loads of shot and shell, had to be left behind,—notwithstanding the exertions made for their removal, the sowars of the irregular cavalry each taking away one on his saddle-bow. Brigadier HERVEY with H. M.'s 10th foot, the 8th Native Infantry, and four of MCKENZIE'S guns, followed the 2nd brigade, leaving a guard under Major WHELER, consisting of the 52nd N. I., two squadrons from the 7th and 11th irregular cavalry, and the remaining two of MCKENZIE'S guns, to bring on the shot and shell for the carriage of which cattle could not at first be obtained. Through the exertions of Captain CHRISTIE, however, a number of camels were shortly afterwards procured, and they were loaded with the greater portion of the ammunition under the fire of the enemy's artillery, which had seized the village in which our head-quarters had been encamped, and advanced on to the plain within point-blank range of our guard, now strengthened by some police horse and a couple of guns under Lieutenant POLLOCK. The cavalry were now extended in line in front of the infantry, and the whole reached camp in safety. Just as they were about leaving the ground, the corps which had been ordered away by Brigadier HERVEY returned,—this retrograde having been made at the urgent request of Colonel FRANKS, of the 10th foot, so soon as the firing was heard from the guns in the rear. The only bad consequence arising from the weakening of the guard fortunately was the unnecessary march of one portion of the brigade, and the detention of the whole under arms nearly ten hours, as they did not reach camp till two o'clock. CORTLANDT'S guns played on the enemy hovering around the Ferozepore division at a distance of nine hundred yards: the fire was returned by them, but without effect.

SECTION III.

Troops reach camp in safety.—Moolraj attempts to induce desertion.—Position of the Force.—Jealousy betwixt Moolraj and Sheer Singh.—Mallee Singh joins the insurgents.—Reconnoitring.—Sheer Singh quits Mooltan on 9th October.—Affair of 7th November.—Desertions from Cortlandt's camp.—Narrain Singh quits Mooltan.—Intelligence reaches Bombay—Preparations to dispatch troops—Interruption caused by the Monsoon—Troops ordered to assemble at Roree—Major-General Auchmuty takes command—Detachment pushed on by Colonel Shaw—Colonel Dundas takes command—Roree Force marches—Arrive at Mooltan on 21st December.

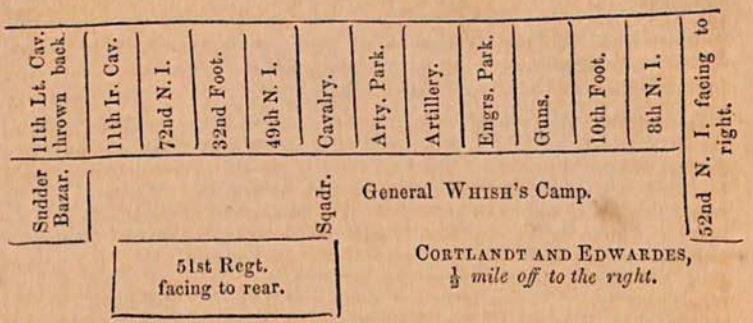
Our camp was gained without the loss of a man. During the 17th and 18th the bildars were employed cutting down the jungle from the front and rear of our position. On the 19th a large body of the enemy were observed moving in the direction of the river, when one of our guns opened on them : this quickly made them turn on their path, two being killed and four made prisoners. News was now received in camp that some of Sheer Singh's men, who were still kept without the walls of Mooltan, had gone towards Lahore to intercept £ 20,000 on its way to their Chief as pay for his troops. A considerable body of Moolraj's Mussulman troops having applied to Lieutenant Edwardes for employment, their services were declined. The troops of Sheer Singh, with a few from the Dewan's army, during the day advanced to within a short distance of our camp, with the intention of giving battle. Preparations were now making to retire a mile further back to a more secure encampment; and Major Napier, with a couple of other Engineer officers, had been dispatched to the banks of the Chenab to pitch on a spot where the siege guns might be entrenched and left to take care of themselves, in case of the force being compelled to move out against the enemy, now daily threatening to give them battle. Several Seikh Chiefs who had come into our camp from Mooltan were directed to proceed to Lahore, and others were about to be dismissed,—all those in fact connected with the Durbar,—so as to get quit of all the troops whose loyalty was doubtful. On the 20th, the Seikh Chief Mallee Singh, who with one thousand men had been left to guard the bunds in the river ten miles higher up, proceeded with a portion of his men to join the Dewan. Sirdar Bhoor Singh, with a considerable body of followers, also went over to the enemy. A letter was received from the Governor of Bunnoo by Lieutenant Edwardes, intimating that as the Seikhs under him were inclined to turn against us, he had engaged a number of the Mulkeea (Mussulman) population, who engaged to put the Seikhs out of the way of molesting us provided the plunder which should fall into their hands should be allowed them for their trouble. He was written to in reply that the Mulkeeas were to be allowed to do as they wished, the only condition being that the Seikhs should be prevented from crossing the Indus and advancing on Mooltan. Four native chiefs were at the same time dispatched by Edwardes to Dhera Ismael Khan to watch the passes into Bunnoo and other places, and prevent the disaffected in those districts from joining the malcontents of the former province. A further detachment was dispatched to occupy Rungpoor, north of Mooltan, with a view to prevent any further bodies of rebels from joining the Moolraj from Lahore. Sheer Singh would appear to have been attempting to draw off several of the Chiefs in our camp from their allegiance,

and amongst the rest sent a letter to General CORTLANDT, reminding him that he had "eaten the salt" of Maharajah RUNJEET SINGH, and that for the honour of the Khalsa he ought to join MOOLRAJ. On the morning of the 23rd, says a correspondent, "all the right wings of Regiments were ordered to parade, European Regiments made up to 400 strong, and N. I. Regiments to 320, with eight Horse Artillery Guns, and the Cavalry Brigade, to make a demonstration (of what); and accordingly at 6 o'clock A. M. away we went, the 1st N. I. Brigade drawn up on the right front, and the 2nd N. I. Brigade and cavalry on the left front—four Horse Artillery guns with each Brigade—and marched away in open columns of companies, along the front of our camps, and so that we could be seen from the fort and city. After we had walked about for two hours or nearly that, we turned about to go home, but no sooner had we done so than we heard the drums in the city beat to arms, and before long out came MOOLRAJ'S men (said to have been under command of SHERE SINGH himself) and a lot of guns, and they commenced peppering away at our rear columns, and away we went to our lines. As soon as we had got there, MOOLRAJ, too, made a demonstration, but of a very different kind, for he showed us he could annoy us, whereas we could not annoy him, and consequently brought up his guns within range of our camp, and fired away like mad, (though fortunately one sepoy and one horse only were killed) so that we were all ordered to remain under arms, ready to turn out at a minute's notice. After bullying us for about 2½ hours, or perhaps more, he retired—to eat his dinner I fancy, for he has left us alone from that time to the present." Another correspondent writes:—"We remained tolerably quiet in our new camp until the 23rd, when it having been previously arranged that we should change ground AGAIN, a demonstration was made by General Whish in the form of a reconnoitering party. At daybreak of the above date the Right Wings of Regiments moved out with some Horse Artillery, and Squadrons of Cavalry, and advanced a few hundred yards in front of the picquets unmolested. They had hardly returned to camp when the enemy appeared in great force, with apparently the whole of his troops drawn out in array. EDWARDES soon proceeded with a large body of cavalry, and some guns, to check their movements. Some long balls were fired by the parties, without more harm on our side than a sepoy [of the 51st] and a camp-follower killed, Some of the shot tumbled into the European picquets and cavalry videttes, without doing any mischief however. After keeping the sepoys and other troops under arms for some hours, (whereby the former lost their dinners), we slowly dispersed to enjoy the shade of our tents All due precautions were taken in case of a nocturnal visit, but we were permitted to enjoy unbroken rest on that night."* On the 24th the park and heavy guns were moved back a couple of miles into a better position, and on the morning of the 25th the force followed. The European corps moved off the ground first,—the 8th and 52nd N. I., with two guns and a squadron of SKINNER'S horse, being left as a rear guard to see everything into camp, which they reached about ten o'clock. They had been but a short while in their tents when they were again called to arms by the arrival of General CORTLANDT with the intelligence that the enemy were advancing in force. Their approach was indicated by columns of dust in front and on the left. When within a mile and a half of our camp they halted in a date grove to reconnoitre. EDWARDES, who on all occasions seems to have been foremost in the fray, sent out some artillery and cavalry, and a cannonade was kept up for an hour or two, when the enemy again sheered off and returned to the fort. They were on coming out determined to annihilate the Feringhees, but most probably distrusted one another, and so contented themselves with showing their teeth. The position now taken up by our force is described in the following manner by the *Delhi Gazette*: it was between four and five miles S. S. W. of the town, and the same distance east of the Chenaub,—the bushes having been cut down, wells sunk, and two batteries erected, which commanded all sides of the camp.

* Taken verbatim from the *Delhi Gazette*.

POSITION OF TROOPS.

FRONT N. N. E.



The 26th and 27th were passed in quietness, the troops being employed clearing away the brushwood around camp, and planting guns and howitzers in the batteries erected on the right and in front of the left column. A party of the enemy endeavoured on the firstnamed day to carry off a number of camels, but were punished for their temerity by a troop of the 7th irregular horse. On the latter-mentioned date Lieutenant G. R. Taylor joined from Dhera Ismael Khan, from whence he had been recalled shortly before; and Colonel Drummond, Quarter-Master-General, left on a reconnoitring expedition:—it was supposed his destination was the fort of Soojaabad, twenty-five miles off, whither a party of officers had proceeded on the 24th, to report on its eligibility as a depot for the siege guns, engineers' park, stores, sick, &c. They returned to camp the same day. The £20,000 from Lahore, to intercept which a portion of Shere Singh's force had quitted Mooltan, fell into the hands of General Whish, who was at the time so much in want of cash for the troops that he had requested a loan of like amount from our ally of Bhawulpore. Meanwhile the jealousy and mistrust betwixt the Moolraj and Rajah Shere Singh were daily becoming stronger: could they but have put faith in each other, our troops would have been harassed much more than they were in their movements. On the 27th, the men of the latter demanded a month's pay from the former, but he very coolly told them that as they had not yet fought with the Feringhees they were not entitled to any wages from him. A letter is said to have been written, as if from General Whish, by Edwardes to Shere Singh, congratulating him on the approaching completion of the plot, and thanking him for his "successful schemes." Of course good care was taken that this should fall into the hands of Moolraj, who forthwith summoned a durbar, and taxed the Seikh Chief with treachery. Shere Singh was of course amazed beyond measure, and to prove his innocence of the charge brought against him, resolved to annihilate every one of our force he fell in with! The Dewan appeared satisfied with this, but the spirit of mistrust, before strong, was doubtless increased tenfold, which may in a great measure account for their backwardness in attacking us after three times coming almost within shot of us for that purpose. On the 28th a party of officers with a few cavalry rode to within a few hundred yards of the walls of the city, but were neither molested nor did they see any of the enemy. This was probably a lure to entice them further on, when they would no doubt have been assailed and overcome. Four hundred camels laden with grain fell into the hands of Edwardes, which proved a godsend to us. A large quantity of ammunition on its way to the insurgents was seized on the river by the steamers. Two regiments and four guns joined the Moolraj from Chuttur Singh's force. Our force was all the 28th and 29th engaged as on the two days previous, clearing away jungle. The 30th passed away nearly as quietly as the three preceding days. A party of the enemy's horse having got scent of a sum of about £ 4,000 being on its way from Bahawulpore to

EDWARDES' camp, went out on the night of the 29th to intercept it. The convoy however eluded them. Determined not to return empty-handed, they pounced on a drove of about two hundred of our camels, which were guarded by about seventy of LUMSDEN'S Guide corps. About this time the insurgents contrived to obtain possession of a boat-load of stores, to the value of from £500 to £700, on its way down the Ravee and Chenaub from Lahore. They were the property of a European merchant, and were intended for the various messes in camp. Four companies of sappers and pioneers, under command of Captain SIDDONS, proceeded to Soojabad—one of the posts long held by Lieut. EDWARDES,—to prepare facines and gabions for the coming siege—brushwood being abundant in the neighbourhood. The place is about twenty miles from camp, and was at one time intended as a depôt for heavy ordnance stores. The town was at this time reported to be nearly deserted of its inhabitants—shopkeepers, provision-dealers, and money-changers, almost alone remaining. The great festival of the Dusserah—the season of the former Seikh outrages—at length arrived, when an attack had been threatened, and MOOLRAJ was said to have vowed that he would bathe in the holy tank of Soorujkoond, as had been his wont from his youth upwards. The watering-place was close to our camp, and under the influence of religious feeling it was hoped the troops would shew themselves in the plain, and give us an opportunity of attacking them. Instead of this, the insurgents went out in the opposite direction and burnt no end of powder for the honor of the occasion, scarcely within hearing of our camp. OOMRA SINGH, one of the Seikhs recognised as having attempted to corrupt our sepoys at Lahore in April, was at this time caught bathing: he was captured, and sent into camp; where, being duly identified, he was dispatched to Lahore, to be dealt with by the Durbar according to his deserts. He had originally belonged to the 42nd N. I., and having taken his discharge was selected for the service he undertook at the date just named, from his familiarity with the habits of our sepoys. On the evening of the 8th, Lieut. CHRISTOPHER, of the Indian Navy, died of wounds received by him on the night of the 9th September, when so many gallant men went down. Colonel PATTOUN, who fell on the occasion, had desired more men immediately; and Lieutenant CHRISTOPHER, serving as a volunteer, undertook to guide two companies of H. M.'s 10th to the scene of action,—the localities about being unknown to them. This duty performed, while he lingered near the scene a matchlock ball shattered his ankle bone. Amputation was twice performed, but he was cut off on the night of the 8th Oct., much regretted by all who knew him. Treasure to the amount of £18,000, sent from Lahore for the pay of the troops of SHERE SINGH before his treachery became known, about this time fell into the hands of the insurgents. On the 9th, the Rajah SHERE SINGH slipped away from the city, the two preceding days having been occupied in sending off detachments of his troops from the north and north-east side of the town—that being the quarter furthest removed from the position of our army. His purpose appears to have been to proceed by forced marches to join his father, then hampered and shut in by ABBOTT and NICOLSON. Genl. WHISH was anxious to have overtaken him had he lingered on the way, but his movements were too quick for us; and with no more than nine hundred cavalry at our disposal, and MOOLRAJ ready to pounce on the rear of the pursuing party had pursuit been given, it was resolved to leave him alone. His first march took him twelve miles from the city: at the end of the second he halted at Sirdarpore, on the river, close by the place where H. M.'s 10th disembarked on their way down. His movements had been so regulated that he could cross the river so soon as he became aware that we were in motion to pursue him; and, with the country people around in his favour, such tidings would have reached him with the utmost celerity. As it was from these circumstances, apparent that it was all but impossible so overtake him, a march of twenty or thirty miles in pursuit of him, with the certainty of being harassed by the Mooltanees in our rear, would have been as unwise as futile. In addition to the quarrel with the DEWAN, it is probable that this cunning chief might consider his chances of success better in the strong mountain country with his father—where a guerilla

warfare might for some time be maintained, and from which there was hope of escape in case of a reverse,—than in a walled city around which an overwhelming army was preparing to assemble. The Seikh troops at Bunnoo having at this time murdered their officers, and taken their departure for the Hazareh country, the occasion was seized upon by the desponding as a proof of the perfect organization of the Seikh conspiracy, and the skill at once and boldness of their measures. MOOLRAJ, it was said, would continue to maintain Mooltan with a force of from 10,000 to 12,000, as long as it was possible, with a view of occupying about an equal number of troops in the siege ; while SHERE SINGH, moving on Lahore with 5000 or 6000 more, would there be joined by all the Seikhs in the city, and CHUTTUR SINGH with the Jamoo and Bunnoo deserters,—in all about 16,000, pressing on the capital as speedily as possible while the British garrison was at its weakest. On the 14th a strong detachment of troops—consisting of ANDERSON'S horse artillery, two guns from MCKENZIE'S troop, a wing each of H. M.'s 10th and 32nd foot, the 8th and 49th N. I., a squadron of the 7th and the whole of the 11th Irregular horse, with forty pioneers—proceeded as an escort to enable the Chief Engineer to take the bearings of a bastion on the northwest side of the fort, which he had not before had the means of examining. The escort required to be made thus strong from the remoteness of the point to be examined. They left camp at three in the morning, and reached their destination without interruption, having made a detour of nearly nine miles. The duty on which they had proceeded having been performed, they returned to camp in safety two hours before noon. On their way back, MOOLRAJ'S cavalry were seen hovering on their flanks : our horse artillery and cavalry were ordered to charge, but the enemy were too nimble for them, and escaped them. On the 13th, the camp was surprised by the restoration of some prisoners formerly taken from us. They stated that the two Europeans in the fort had got leave to quit ; but both were wounded, and one was unable, the other unwilling, to move. The troops were now directed to be restored to full rations—these having before been reduced in apprehension of scarcity. The weather had of late undergone a most agreeable change—the nights having become so cool that cloth clothes were in demand. Desertions to EDWARDES' camp had become not unfrequent—eighty Rohillas one day joined him ; and shortly afterwards, five hundred Seikhs from Bunnoo, who had remained faithful when the rest had gone over to the enemy. While in this state of comparative inactivity, the besiegers became aware of the vast preparations making for their succour. The Supreme Government had asked for 5000 troops from Bombay, to rendezvous at Roree as speedily as possible, for service beyond the frontier : it was expected they would be able to move from the mustering place early in December. Instead of 5000, eight thousand were now assembling : the army to be completed on the 1st Nov. The insurgents having about the beginning of the month established a battery in a deep watercourse within range of the camp of EDWARDES and CORTLANDT, opened a fire on our allies, which, though distant, was annoying to them : and General WHISH accordingly determined to construct a battery a mile or so in front, commanding the flank of the enemy. This was armed with two 18-prs., two howitzers, and four mortars, which played on the insurgents at the distance of nine hundred yards with considerable effect. Captain MAITLAND and some of the men of the 32nd were cut down by falling in with some of the enemy who pretended to be our allies. At day-break on the 5th the working party returned to camp, when a heavy fire, which continued all day, was opened from the trenches. As usual, the superiority of the matchlock over the musket was obvious, and the enemy were able to pick off our men at distances at which our shot never reached them ; yet they had no bullets, but rough slugs of lead for their guns. Instead of bombshells they fired pewter cannisters from their mortars. The cannonade was resumed on the morning of the 6th, and the guards at the advanced post had some severe skirmishing with the enemy, who came in front and dared them to advance. Under such an insult as this, the men were not to be restrained : thrice they threw themselves on the enemy, and thrice they drove them back in disorder. In these encounters ten sepoys were killed, and fifteen Europeans killed or wounded. This

state of matters could not long be suffered to endure, and on the evening of the 6th, accordingly, two brigades* of infantry were directed to prepare next morning for an attack. These consisted of 1400 each, one under Lieut. Colonel FRANKS, Commanding H. M. 10th foot, the other under Lieut. Col. BROOKE, H. M. 32nd foot, and 600 cavalry under Major WHEELER, with ANDERSON'S troop of horse artillery,—the whole under Brig. MARKHAM. It was resolved that they should move out an hour before day-light to the eastern side of the nullah that flanks the allied camp, and, making a circuit, take the encamped position in flank; Major EDWARDES'S force at the same time making a corresponding advance down the nullah (Wollee Mahomed's Canal) on its western side, manning the advanced post. To leave the British at liberty for the flank movement and defence of their own camp, it was arranged that the heavy guns and the guard should be withdrawn, except two H. A. guns that remained in the redoubt corner of the position,—Lieutenant POLLOCK being sent to occupy it with the Kuttermukhee regiment of CORTLANDT'S force, 1,000 of Lieutenant LAKE'S men, and 500 of Major EDWARDES'S irregulars. About 11 P. M., (6th) this detachment took up their ground, but had not long been there when six companies of CORTLANDT'S regiment, in fact all the Poorbeeas of the corps, went over in small detachments to the enemy, leaving Lieutenants POLLOCK, PATON, (of the Engineers,) and BUNNY, (of the Artillery,) to congratulate themselves on not having been attacked before they went over, or been carried over as prisoners to MOOLRAJ. The desertion of course encouraged the enemy, who came on shouting to the rest of the men to follow the example of their brethren. Lieutenant BUNNY, who was in charge of the two guns, immediately sent up to camp for his horses and reinforcements. The outlying and inlying pickets of the right brigade (two companies of European and four companies of native infantry,) went down to the post, the British officers (Lieuts. POLLOCK, PATON and BUNNY) remaining firm at their posts notwithstanding their critical position. The desertion of one out of three regular regiments, on which the allies depended as their principal support, coupled with the depressing effect that the absence of all reinforcements from Scinde and Ferozepore must have had on General WHISH'S force, certainly placed him in a critical position, that morning, as he could no longer depend on the co-operation of the allied force, and had not men enough for offensive operations on two sides, while it became at the same time evident that something must be done to lower the spirits of the enemy, and raise those of the British and allied troops. To mend the matter, news had on that day been received of the defection of the Peshawur troops. Day broke in this position of affairs, and there was no longer any chance of surprise: an order was therefore given to the men to cook and make a light meal, and be ready at ½ past 9 A. M. They had hardly commenced when news arrived that Major EDWARDES'S camp was attacked in force by the enemy, who had out-flanked his bat-

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* "CAMP BEFORE MOOLTAN, 7TH NOV., 1848.—*Division Orders.*

"*After orders of yesterday*—The operations against the enemy the last three days not having had the desired effect, their position will be attacked to-morrow, when the following details will be in readiness at 4½ A. M. to proceed under the officers named.

Cavalry and Horse Artillery, Brig. Salter Comdg.

2	Squads.	11th L. C., complete to	160	Rank and File.
2	Ditto	11th Ir. ditto	220	ditto.
2	Ditto	7th Ir. ditto	220	ditto.

4th Troop 3d Brig. Horse Arty.

Infy. under Brigr. Markham.

6	Cos. H. M. 10th Foot, complete	to	400	Under Lt. Col. Franks, H. M. 10th.
8	" 8th N. I.		512	
8	" 52d ditto		512	
6	" H. M. 32nd Foot, complete	to	500	Under Lt. Col. Brooke, H. M. 32d.
8	" 49th N. I.		352	
8	" 51st ditto		560	

"The 72d, and all details not included in the above, to remain in camp under Brigr. Hervey, who will direct half of the disposable Cavy. to patrole the front of camp, at half mile distance, with four guns from 4th Troop 1st Brig. H. A.

"2 Guns 4th Troop 1st Brig. H. A., and 60 Suwars 11th Irr. Cav., to attend the Major-General.

"40 Pioneers to accompany the 4th Troop 3d Brig. H. A."

teries. They were however eventually driven back with great loss, after a long hand-to-hand fight, by the regular regiments, (those that remained staunch) who behaved very well. In the midst of this melee the British columns moved to the rescue, and were in time to confirm the allied force in the spirits they had gained by their successful encounter. They waited on the eastern side of the canal to form their columns, made a detour to the right, and went in at the enemy, cavalry and infantry emulating one another. Battery after battery was captured with trifling loss, and all the enemy's guns were taken possession of. It is a satisfaction to know that the enemy had suffered severely in their attacks. The leader of the recusant regiment that went over in the night was amongst the slain, and HURREE SINGH, the commander of cavalry who deserted VANS AGNEW, was mortally wounded. No officers were even wounded, and only two Europeans killed, three or four natives, and about fourteen of all arms wounded. A troop of the 11th irregular cavalry, under Lieut. and Adjutant MATHESON, charged a one gun battery, and took it. MOOLRAJ himself was in his temple, just concluding the funeral rites of his nephew, who was killed on the 6th at the advanced post, when he heard his troops were running in. He called to the sirdars :—"You gave them the guns, eh? I thought you promised me that by this the whole camp should be moved to Soojabad. Go and break your heads with your devices." The enemy's loss on this occasion was afterwards computed at betwixt 500 and 1000 in all. Our allies under EDWARDES and CORTLANDT behaved most gallantly, and did us yeoman service, but not without suffering severely in turn. It was remarked as singular, that on the 7th the last of the guns which accompanied AGNEW and ANDERSON were captured. The action has been loudly and universally lauded : we had not on this as on too many other occasions, everything left to brute force—the excellence of our tactics seemed only surpassed by the conduct of our troops. Brigadier MARKHAM is spoken of by all in terms of the highest commendation. The opposing forces now once more resumed a state of profound inaction. The insurgents offered sacrifice, and special acts of worship to propitiate the deity —the British force occupied themselves with races and field sports. On the 1st October, NARRAIN SINGH, Commander-in-Chief under MOOLRAJ, and uncle of DHULEEP SINGH, with a force of some 2000 men and two guns, quitted the fort, and proceeded, as was understood, in the direction of Jhung, a large mercantile town about three miles from the banks of the Chenaub, on the high way from the lower to the upper Punjaub, and from ninety to one hundred miles from Mooltan. The SHEIKH EMAUM-OOD-DEEN, the leader of the Cashmere Rebellion in 1846, was sent out to watch his movements. On the 6th, a reconnoissance on a larger scale was made by Col. CHEAPE, now Chief Engineer with the besieging army, and who was prevented by indisposition from joining at the commencement of the siege. The whole day was spent in exploring the suburbs and environs, the enemy occasionally firing a gun at the party, from which however no mischief arose. On the 11th, the first portion of the Bombay Column, consisting of TURNBULL'S battery, the 3rd N. I, and a detachment of 500 of the Scinde Horse, arrived. They were inspected by Genl. WHISH the following day: their appearance was subject of general admiration in camp. The Scinde Horse were allowed to be the very *beau ideal* of irregulars, and this we doubt not they will by and bye in reality be found. On the 13th, the Scinde Horse took their first tour of duty in a second reconnoissance by the engineers, who now numbered very strong in camp. General WHISH had ordered all the sappers up to camp who had been left in charge of the Bridge of Boats, which was thus left at the mercy of accident in a country filled with marauders, and where a bundle of straw, lighted by accident or intention, might have destroyed our means of crossing. An accident such as this had on the 23d October destroyed the bridge over the Ravee near Lahore, when three boats were actually burned. As it was, it had suffered severely from the crumbling nature of the banks of the river.

The main column, under Colonel DUNDAS, arrived in camp on the 21st : the particulars of their upward march must now be given.

The intelligence of the murders at Mooltan reached Bombay on the 5th May, just as the Governor Sir GEORGE CLERK, formerly Resident at Lahore, was about to retire from India. He had foreboded mischief so soon as he saw a couple of political agents had been sent out to relieve the Governor of a turbulent province of his authority with an escort of no more than 350 men, and he predicted at once that unless the disturbance could be put down, and the outrage punished, immediately, most serious mischief would arise. The Commander-in-Chief Sir W. COTTON was at the time at the Mahabuleshwar Hills—the usual place of retirement during the hot season of the leading members of the community. He ordered all officers within the presidency absent from their regiments to rejoin without delay, and he himself proceeded immediately to Bombay to be ready to assist in meeting any emergency that might be required. By the middle of May the surge becomes so heavy at the mouth of the Indus that troops cannot be landed except in extreme cases and without considerable danger. The emergency had taken every one so much by surprise that there were no sufficient means immediately at our disposal for the movement of such a force as might be desired; and while every preparation was made, it was obviously impossible that anything should be done till after the close of the S. W. Monsoon. Arrangements were at the same time made to afford assistance to almost any extent that might be required the moment the fair season opened.* The Supreme Government having come to the determination of dispatching 7,000 men to Mooltan under Major-General WHISH, naturally experienced no apprehension of assistance being required, or doubt but that Mooltan would fall within a few days' time of the commencement of the operations of the Bengal troops. So soon as tidings of the raising of the siege were received, a requisition was made for reinforcements, and a company of sappers and miners, a battery of foot artillery, H. M.'s 60th Rifles, and the 1st Europeans (Bombay Fusiliers), were ordered to proceed without a moment's delay from Kurrachee to Tatta, and thence to be towed up the Indus to Roree by steamers, the distance being 250 miles by the river. This not being considered sufficient, orders were without a moment's delay issued for the assemblage of an army of 5,000 men to rendezvous at Roree on the Indus in Upper Scinde, there to await further orders. The Bombay troops having been kept in readiness for any movement that might be required, it was intimated, in reply, that 7,000 men would be available by the middle of November. The command was to be bestowed on Major-General AUCHMUTY, then in charge of the Poonah Division,—Colonel DUNDAS accompanying him as second in command. Brigadier CAPON was to take charge of the troops in Scinde during the absence of the Roree Force.

The following troops were at that time quartered on the banks of the Indus, without taking into account the force, about 3,000 strong, on our former frontier. We give the strength of each partly on conjecture, but believe it will be found pretty near the truth:—

At Kurrachee.	Men.
3rd Troop Horse Brigade (Europeans)	140
4th company 4th battalion foot artillery (natives)	100
H. M.'s 60th Rifles	1050
1st Bombay European Fusiliers	330
4th Native Infantry (Rifles)	330
2nd Belooch Battalion	320
Total...	3,370

* It may be requisite to remind the English reader that the rainy season at Bombay extends from the beginning of June to the end of August. Within the space of four months some eighty inches of rain fall, and violent storms prevail throughout. In September it fairs again, and after a month of stormy weather strong breezes ensue, and scarcely a shower falls for eight months.

At Hydrabad.	
1st company 3rd battalion artillery (natives)	100
11th Native Infantry	900
19th Native Infantry	870
Baggage Corps	1050
Scinde Horse, detachment	200
Total...	3,120
At Sukkur.	
9th Native Infantry	1,000
Total...	1000
At Shikarpore.	
1st company 4th battalion artillery (natives)	100
3rd Native Infantry	325
1st Belooch Battalion	340
Total...	1,765
At Larkhana.	
Camel Corps	500
At Khangur and Outposts.	
Scinde Horse	950
On route to Bahawulpore.	
Scinde Horse	500
Total...	1,950
Regular Troops.....Total...	11,705
Police in Scinde	2,500
Grand Total...	14,205

About 12,000 are in all under the Scinde command,—while an armed police of 2500 strong, and but little inferior to regular troops, keep the country. ECKFORD's Brigade was at the same time directed to move from Ferozepore, and it was not supposed the Bombay troops would be required for more than a demonstration. The councils of the Commander-in-Chief, and views of the Supreme Government, seldom at this time seem to have continued the same for twenty-four hours on end. ECKFORD's Brigade was thrice on the way and as often recalled, and ultimately formed part of the Grand Army on the Chenaub, on the assembling of which Lord GOUGH appeared to have set his mind from the beginning.* Colonel SHAW, commanding the troops in Upper Scinde, had mean-

* The following forces were enumerated in the General Order of the 11th October. The Army consisted of a troop of Horse and two companies of Foot Artillery, two companies of Golundauze (Native Artillery), and two Light Field Batteries, or thirty guns in all—besides the Battering Train of thirty heavy guns, or sixty pieces of ordnance in all; with 7000 men, of whom 2,400 were Europeans.

BY THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE GOVERNOR IN COUNCIL.

Bombay Castle, 11th October, 1848.

No. 534 of 1848.—Under instructions from the Government of India, the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council is pleased to direct that a Field Force be assembled at Roree for service beyond the frontier.

2. The formation of the Force is to be considered complete from the 1st November next, and all appointments connected with it are to take effect on the same date.

Major-General Auchmuty, C. B., is appointed to Command.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is requested to issue all such orders for the organization of the Force as he may deem proper.

No. 535 of 1848.—Colonel the Hon'ble H. Dundas, C. B., having signified his wish to accompany the force under the orders of Major-General Auchmuty, C. B., the following appointment is made:—

Brigadier Capon to Command the Forces in Scinde from the 1st November next, vice Colonel the Honorable H. Dundas, C. B., proceeding on duty beyond the Frontier.

(Signed) P. M. MELVILL, Lieut. Col., Secy. to Govt.

while been applied to direct by General WHISH, and, acting on his own responsibility on an emergency admitting of no delay, he pushed on TURNBULL'S battery and the 3rd N. I. from Shikarpore to Sukkur. A fortnight before this the 9th N. I. had been directed to march: the 3rd were substituted in their place, and after having advanced some 100 miles on their way were ordered to return. JACOB'S Horse were at one time as far as Ahmedpore, within five marches of Mooltan, when they were forbidden to proceed. On the 11th October the de-

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BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

Under authority from the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is pleased to make the following appointments of Officers for the Staff duties of the Field force under orders to assemble at Roree, under the Command of Major-General S. Auchmuty, C. B., for service beyond the Frontier :—

COMMANDS.—TO BE BRIGADIERS OF THE 2ND CLASS.

Colonel The Hon'ble H. Dundas, C. B., H. M.'s 60th (the King's) Royal Rifle Corps.
Lieutenant-Colonel F. Stalker, C. B., (19th N. I.)

STAFF.

Assistant Adjutant General.—Brevet Major E. Green, C. B. (21st N. I.)
Deputy-Assistant Adjutant-General.—Capt. T. Tapp (1st Fusiliers.)
Assistant Quartermaster-General.—Captain J. Ramsay (28th N. I.)
Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General.—Lieutenant J. J. Pollexfen (15th N. I.)
Deputy Judge-Advocate-General.—Captain P. K. Skinner (19th N. I.)
Paymaster.—Major R. St. John (1st Fusiliers.)
Assistant Commissary-General.—Captain C. Threshie (10th N. I.)
Deputy Assistant Commissary-Genl.—Captain R. J. Shaw (1st Fusiliers.)
Sub-Assistant Commissary General.—Lieut. J. B. Dunsterville (19th N. I.)
Ditto ditto.—Captain H. T. Vincent (7th N. I.)
Ditto ditto.—Lieutenant W. F. Gordon (1st Fusiliers.)
Commissary of Ordnance.—Captain T. W. Hicks (Artillery.)
Commanding Engineer.—Major W. Scott (Engineers.)
Field Engineers.—Lieuts. J. Hill, and W. Kendall (Engineers.)
Assistant Field Engineers.—Lieutenant H. P. B. Berthon (Artillery.) and 2nd Lieuts. J. T. Walker, J. W. Playfair, and J. A. Fuller (Engineers.)
Superintending Surgeon.—Surgeon C. D. Straker (Medical Storekeeper, Presidency.)
Field Surgeon.—Surgeon J. Doig (2nd Batt. Artillery.)
Deputy Medical Storekeeper and Staff Surgeon.—Assistant Surgeon C. J. F. Imlach, M. D.
Chaplain.—The Reverend W. H. Schwabe, B. A.

2. Major-General Auchmuty will be good enough to nominate one of the Sub-Assistant Commissaries to the charge of Bazars, and make such arrangements as he may deem requisite, with respect to appointing Baggage and Post-masters, Provosts-Marshall, &c. &c.,—submitting nominations to Army Head Quarters in the usual manner, for the confirmation of the Commander-in-Chief and Government.

3. The Troops are to be formed into four Brigades, and Staff Officers attached, as set forth in the following detail :—

ARTILLERY BRIGADE.

Commanding.—Major J. S. Leeson (3rd troop H. A.)
Major of Brigade.—Lieut. W. Stevenson (2d Company 2d Battalion Artillery.)
3rd Troop Horse Brigade.
3rd Co. 1st Battalion European Foot Artillery.
4th Co. 2nd Battalion European Foot Artillery.
1st and 2nd Companies 4th Battalion Golundauze.
Nos. 5 and 7 Light Field Batteries.

CAVALRY BRIGADE.

Commanding.—Major S. Poole (1st Lancers.)
Major of Brigade.—Lieut. G. C. Kemball (1st Lancers.)
1st Regiment Light Cavalry (Lancers.)
Regiment Scinde Irregular Horse.

1ST BRIGADE OF INFANTRY.

Brigadier.—Lieutenant Colonel D. Capon, (23rd N. L. I.)
Major of Brigade.—Lieut. B. Ward, (H. M. 60th Rifles.)
H. M.'s 60th (the King's) Royal Rifle Corps.
3rd Regiment Native Infantry.
9th Regiment Native Infantry.

2ND BRIGADE OF INFANTRY.

Brigadier.—Lieutenant-Colonel Foster Stalker, C. B. (19th N. I.)
Major of Brigade.—Capt. E. H. Hart (19th N. I.)
1st European Regiment Fusiliers.
4th Regiment Native Infantry (Rifle Corps.)
19th Regiment Native Infantry.

ENGINEER DEPARTMENT.

Commanding.—Major H. Scott.
1st and 4th Companies of Corps of Sappers and Miners.

(Signed) H. HANCOCK, Lieut. Col., Adjt. Genl. of the Army.

tachment crossed the Indus at Roree, and, accompanied by the Camel Baggage Corps, moved up the river. They were afterwards joined by 500 of JACOB's Scinde Horse, under Lieut. MALCOLM,—Major JACOB, who solicited permission to command, being considered indispensable on the frontier, his familiarity with the country and the natives, where he had served for eight years, rendering his services invaluable where he was. It having been considered imprudent to permit the army to move in fragments while the state of the country was so extensively disturbed, the detachment was ordered to halt when about eighty miles on its way, and the artillery were sent back to Sukkur to exchange their 6-pounder for 9-pounder guns. The battering train was meanwhile got in readiness to be dispatched up the Chenaub in boats: it was afterwards landed on the 17th December close to General WHISH's camp. The Pontoons were dispatched by land, and were employed in constructing a bridge across the Sutlej, fifty-six miles from Mooltan. BAILEY's Battery was ordered from Bhooj, the 1st Lancers were moved across the desert from Deesa, and all the arrangements for the movement on Roree appear to have been excellent. Reinforcements meanwhile were dispatched with all celerity from Bombay to supply the place of the troops that were pushed on. The Indus Flotilla consists of nine steamers and three flats. The *Comet* and the *Conqueror* were in the end of October above Sukkur; the *Meanee*, *Assyria*, *Napier*, *Satellite*, *Meteor*, and *Nimrod*, were employed in the lower part of the river, transporting the troops and stores upwards. By the 20th of November the whole force was assembled, but a change had meanwhile taken place in the command. General AUCHMUTY was senior in the service to General WHISH, and, as such, would have superseded him on arriving at Mooltan. The Governor-General intimated that as the latter officer had done nothing to incur the displeasure or forfeit the confidence of Government, it would be unfair not to permit him to complete the series of operations he had begun. It was stated, at the same time, that should the services of the Bombay Column be required beyond Mooltan, General AUCHMUTY would be placed in command so soon as that fortress had fallen. In the meanwhile he was directed to take command of the troops on the Indus, and he accordingly established his head-quarters at Sukkur. His place at the head of the column was taken by Colonel the Hon'ble H. DUNDAS, of H. M. 60th Rifles, Colonels CAPON and STALKER commanding the infantry, Majors LEESON and POOLE the artillery and cavalry brigades. The detachment under Major HALLETT, consisting of the 3rd N. I., TURNBULL's Battery, and 500 of the Scinde Horse, pushed forward by Colonel SHAW, now moved onward, halting from time to time as they advanced. They reached Mooltan on the 11th. The Column itself marched in three divisions on the 25th, 28th, and 30th, of November, and proceeded upwards with order and expedition. They entered the Punjaub at Ahmedpore between the 15th and 18th December, and, having halted one day to close up, reached the Camp before Mooltan on the 21st. This now brought the force under General WHISH up to 15,000 British troops, with sixty-four pieces of heavy artillery, and some sixty or seventy light guns. The battering train had been sent up the Chenaub from Bahawulpore by boat: it was disembarked on the 17th within seven miles from camp, and escorted by the Bombay detachment first arrived. The Allies, under CORTLANDT, EDWARDES, and LAKE, with the Daoodputras, amounted to as many more, with thirty guns at their disposal. This digression from the main line of our narrative was requisite to render the allusion to the Bombay Column which will now have occasion to be made, intelligible. This completes the preparations for the second siege of Mooltan: the siege itself will occupy a separate chapter after we have given details of proceedings elsewhere.

SECTION IV.

TROOPS in the Punjaub in April 1848.—News of the Mooltan disturbances reach Lahore.—Troops ordered to proceed to Mooltan immediately.—Counter-ordered.—Conspiracy at Lahore discovered.—Conspirators executed.—News received of the raising of the Siege of Mooltan.—Effects of it at the capital.—History of the Gooroo.—CHUTTUR SINGH.—Peshawur and the Hazareh country.—Major LAWRENCE.—Troops sent to Bunnoo in December 1847.—Excitement at Peshawur.—Sultan MAHOMED KHAN.—Consequences of our vacillation.—Lord GOUGH's resolve for a campaign with 30,000 men.—Murder of Colonel CANARA.—ABBOTT, NICHOLSON, and ROBERTSON.—Attock reinforced.—Adventures of Lieutenant NICHOLSON.—Rising in Bunnoo.—Murder of Colonel HOLMES.—Mrs LAWRENCE quits Peshawur.—Treachery of Sultan MAHOMED KHAN.—The LAWRENCES made over to the Seikhs.—Disturbances in the Jullundhur Doab.—WHEELER's Brigade.—POPE's Brigade.

HAVING carried on the narrative of the state of affairs around Mooltan up to the juncture of the Bombay Troops and the resumption of active operations against the enemy, we must now revert to the proceedings at Lahore and in the distant provinces, to which allusion has already occasionally been made. It was a principle with Lord HARDINGE in making his arrangements for the final settlement of the Punjaub, to avoid placing British troops on outpost or detachment duty; and while, as already stated, 10,000 men were maintained at the capital, and three moveable columns of 3,400 men with thirty-six guns were kept ready for immediate service, to the Seikhs themselves was entrusted the protection of the frontier and coercion of the refractory provinces. By this means was avoided the offence apt to be taken by a high-spirited and warlike people, at the introduction of foreign troops into the bosom of their country. There were many thousands of those who had been beaten by our troops on the Sutlej still scattered about the provinces, who would eagerly have availed themselves of any opportunity which might have occurred of revenging themselves on British outposts for the injury they had received at our hands. One great object with us was to preserve Seikh nationality—to teach them to maintain order, and to manage their own affairs, so that when the time for our retirement from the country arrived, the Maharajah might find himself in a position to govern without foreign aid. It was, besides, matter of much importance to find occupation for men who, though they could not work, and might be ashamed to beg—had lived all their days by rapine and violence, and were little likely to suffer from want so long as they could plunder.—The nation had a right to expect the Seikh troops should be employed in preference to all others, and we were perfectly aware that if they were willing, no men could be better qualified to perform all the duties desired to be imposed upon them. Lord HARDINGE never lost sight of the possibility of a general conspiracy against us by the remnants of the Seikh army, however unlikely this might reasonably have been regarded; and to have mixed them up with British troops, whom they must have by three to one outnumbered, would have been to incur the greatest possible risks in the event of the appearance of ill feeling or an emergency where prompt and direct action was indispensable. With our Contingent cantoned around the Capital, we were unassailable even under the most unfavourable condition of things that could be conceived. When the second Treaty of 1846 was concluded, the Seikh army, as has already been stated, consisted of 32,000 men with fifty guns, distributed all over the country. Of these, 22,000 were regular troops—about 18,000 men and 4,000 officers and non-commissioned officers. About two-thirds were Seikhs, and one-third Mussulmen or Poorbeeas. To these must be added 10,000 Goorchuras, or Irregular Cavalry, all of them Seikhs, provided by the various feudatories of the Crown, and the Chiefs holding Jagheers of the State. At Ramnuggur and Shahpoor, betwixt the Ravee, Chenaub, and Jhelum, there were about 12,000; between the Jhelum and the Indus, including the Hazareh Country, about 5,000, the greater portion of them being Seikhs. Beyond the Indus, occupying Peshawur up to the entrance of the Khyber Pass, about 5,000 were stationed under Major GEORGE LAWRENCE, formerly Private Secretary to Sir WILLIAM MACNAGHTEN, and a man who, to the charac-

teristic talent, energy and determination of the family to which he belonged, added the most perfect familiarity with the country and habits of the people around. Down the Indus to Lukkee and the Derajat, about 7000 men were posted. The Nazim of Mooltan not having appeared in the field against us, and having agreed to the views of the Durbar in reference to the terms on which the province should be held, was allowed, as heretofore, to make his own arrangements. The troops directly under him, and not, unless through him, under control of the Durbar, amounted to about 8,000 men. * This brings up the gross Seikh force to 40,000 in all. Of the Seikh army of 60,000 which crossed the Sutlej in November 1845, nearly 20,000 are computed to have fallen in action, or to have died of their wounds. Of 370 pieces of artillery which constituted the magnificent park of RUNJEET SINGH, 300 had betwixt November 1845 and February 1846 fallen into our hands. It is well that these matters should be kept distinctly in view, as no part of Lord HARDINGE's arrangements has of late been more loudly or groundlessly condemned than that which permitted 32,000 Seikhs to remain in arms with fifty guns in their possession. Not only would it have been in the last degree preposterous to have dreamt of preventing DHULEEP SINGH from protecting his own dominions with his own troops, but the residue of the Khalsa would have been a perpetual source of alarm and annoyance if left roaming in armed bands through the country, strong in national faith and feeling, dangerous from perfect discipline, and desperate through starvation. Nothing could have exceeded the fidelity, alacrity, and zeal, displayed by them in 1846-47 on all occasions when their services were called for in suppressing tumult amongst their countrymen; and there is no reason to doubt that this state of matters would have continued to the last had the most ordinary rules of prudence been observed in crushing insurrection the moment it made its appearance. Had the murderers of AGNEW and ANDERSON been hung over the walls of Mooltan in June, and MOOLRAJ and his troops been relieved by a governor and garrison from Lahore, we should have had no new plots or troubles to deal with in the Punjaub.

The condition in which the defences of the frontier were left, and the military and civil arrangements made at Lahore by LORD HARDINGE, have elsewhere been stated: nor does any particular notice require to be taken of the state of matters at the Seikh capital, till the arrival of the great epoch already so often referred to—the receipt of the intelligence of the murders at Mooltan. A short general narrative of this has already been given in the first section of this memoir, and a somewhat extended account of matters now requires to be supplied.

On the 21st April the Resident received a letter from Mr VANS AGNEW, mentioning the untoward and unlooked-for tumult that had occurred on the 18th; intimating that he and Lieut. ANDERSON were in a state of virtual siege; that he had written to Lieut. EDWARDES, then believed to be in the Dherajat, and to the Khan of Bahawulpore, requesting them for immediate assistance; and stating also, that though there was no reason to believe this more than an outburst of popular feeling, which of itself might probably quickly subside, no time was to be lost in meeting any difficulties, or punishing any misconduct, that might arise. Orders were immediately issued for the march of troops on the scene of discord. A troop of horse artillery, a wing of the 14th dragoons, and 49th N. I., were to proceed without a moment's delay, under command of Colonel HAVELOCK, for Ferozepore. They were to be joined on the way by a light field battery, H. M. 10th, and the 8th and 50th N. I., from Lahore, under command of Brigadier CAMPBELL. Col. LANE, with a troop of Horse Artillery, and the 32d and 49th N. I., were to hold themselves in readiness for an immediate start; and the force, thus amounting to about 6,500 men, with 18 guns, would, in conjunction with 4000 Seikhs, and the

* The statements referring to the state of the finances and strength of the army of the Durbar have mostly been derived from various communications which appeared in the *Bombay Times*, under the signatures "ZETA," "OMEGA," &c., and in the editorial portion of that paper. The sources whence these were derived are perfectly authoritative; the statements themselves may therefore be accepted without any hesitation or qualification whatever.

troops under EDWARDES and CORTLANDT, and the Bahawulpore force, have been at this time in all likelihood quite sufficient for all that was required. They were to quit on the 27th, and to be preceded a day or two by Dewan DEENA NATH, the Sirdar UTTER SINGH, and some regiments of Seikh Horse. The former of these was a man of much weight and influence, and it was thought likely he would, backed as he was, speedily bring MOOLRAJ to his senses. Mr ARTHUR COCKS, and Mr LUMSDEN, Assistants to the Resident, were to accompany the force as politicals. It is not likely that at this time a siege would have been thought of, or that MOOLRAJ, innocent as he appears to have been of the murders laid to his charge, and the creature rather than the guide of the insurrection, would have dreamt of holding out. He had no reason to look for the weakness and hesitation so wide of everything ever witnessed in our history, which so soon afterwards manifested itself. On the 25th, a modified order was promulgated at Ferozepore, to the effect that the 10th Irregular Cavalry should accompany the force already detailed, and join Brigadier CAMPBELL at Barrioul: they were to march on the 26th. On the 26th the tidings of the murders were received, and as the calamity meant to be obviated had occurred, and there seemed no longer any occasion for haste, the troops were ordered to stand fast till the Commander-in-Chief had been consulted with. On the 29th April a detachment of the Seikh Army, about 3000 strong, under SHERE SINGH, son of CHUTTUR SINGH, governor of the Hazareh province, was dispatched, for what purpose does not quite appear: they never seem to have aided in the operations against MOOLRAJ, and on the 14th September joined him, and compelled General WHISH to raise the siege. On the 28th some of the artillery men, and afterwards the apothecary who had gone with the unhappy party to Mooltan, returned. From their accounts it would appear that Mr AGNEW had recommended half the Mooltan Army to be dismissed, and insisted that the Government should be immediately given over to KHAN SINGH, instead of MOOLRAJ being allowed the delay of ten days, which he claimed, to make arrangements. They agreed that MOOLRAJ appeared to have been guiltless of the murder: that on the other hand, he assured our officers, with whom he spent some time after the first attack had occurred, that their assailants had been punished.

A suspicion seems now to have arisen that matters were not in quite so satisfactory a condition throughout the country as had been supposed. Reinforcements were immediately ordered up, and every precaution to prevent surprise prudence warranted adopted at Lahore. Two troops of Horse Artillery, and a regiment of Irregular Cavalry, left Loodianah on the last day of April, and reached Ferozepore by forced marches on the 4th May. On the 7th May the Resident was informed that a conspiracy was in progress at the capital from which danger to our army was to be apprehended. A trooper of Major WHEELER'S regiment, who had been applied to by the conspirators, gave the information, and offered to shew where the conclave met. Lieut. LUMSDEN, of the Guide corps, proceeded to the spot; and so excellently were matters managed, that the whole of the plotters were seized. The principal parties were KHAN SINGH, an officer of some standing, but bad character, who had been dismissed the Lahore service; and GUNGA RAM, Agent to the Queen Dowager. On the 9th the conspirators were tried and condemned, and they were executed two days after in presence of the army. A third who had been found guilty was reprieved at the foot of the gallows, on condition of his giving information as to the rest. The objects of the intrigue were—first, to prevail on the Ruler of Mooltan to delay the surrender of the province, and to detain our emissaries as prisoners, that a force might be sent to compel his obedience. When this was on its march, the Seikhs of the Durbar army were to desert their British allies and fall back on Lahore. The force left behind to garrison the city might then, it was supposed, be easily mastered and destroyed. Another stage of the plot consisted in an attempt to bribe the sepoys: some two dozen seem to have been tampered with, of whom ten or twelve had yielded to temptation. The 13th

of May was the day fixed on for the commencement of operations : ten men were to be told off and dispatched to the bungalow of every British officer, who was, together with his family, to be butchered on the spot. The plot was bloody and ferocious-looking enough : and such was the panic excited by its discovery, that for a time it threw everything into confusion. So utterly inadequate were the means at the disposal of the conspirators for the accomplishment of the ends in view, that no sane man who was not already desperate could have countenanced them. At Lahore we had above 10,000 men, of whom, including officers, 3,000 were Europeans : of these not more than 2,500 would, in conjunction with a detachment of similar size from Ferozepore, have been dispatched for Mooltan ; so that had success so far attended them, the conspirators had still 7,000 to deal with—or double the army which conquered at Meanee. The whole native army must have lent themselves to treason, and the Europeans looked on while the throats of their officers and commanders were cut, or the plot could not have been carried out. A failure of any one of the contingencies must have marred the whole. The Queen Mother was proved to have been connected with the conspiracy, wild as it was—as she had, indeed, with every bit of treason hatched around Lahore since our troops took possession. It was now felt indispensable to get rid of her, and she was accordingly removed without notice, and sent to Benares, where she will spend the remainder of her days beyond the reach of treason or intrigue. The whole of the Seikh Chiefs—GOOLAUB SINGH included—were at one time said to be implicated in the plot. That they bore us little love, was very likely ; that men who had spent their whole lives in political intrigue would abandon it at once was not to be imagined : but that they would mix themselves up with a project so hairbrained and madlike as that just exposed, would imply in them a degree of folly we have no right to impute to them. It having been found that the powder stored in an old magazine of RUNJEET SINGH's was being made away with, and might be used for mischievous purposes, the magazine was ordered to be destroyed ; and to save an explosion—the effects of which might have been injurious to the city—most of the combustible was thrown into useless wells close by. It was here flooded with water, and no evil apprehended ; when in a few weeks afterwards, the water having dried, or never having been sufficient for the purpose, a violent explosion occurred, tearing up the ground all around, and destroying three or four persons who were at hand.

This matter having been settled, some petty disturbances began to make their appearance in the neighbourhood. On the 20th June a strong detachment was sent against the Gooroo, or holy man, who had collected a multitude of followers, and was creating a disturbance around the capital.

The history of this personage is a singular one : he is a Seikh, and was formerly cook to BHEER SINGH, also a holy man or Gooroo. When his master fell mortally wounded, in the battle of Nourungabad, opposite the Hurree ke Puttun Ghat, under the administration of the Rajah HEERA SINGH, he told those around with his dying breath that his mantle had descended on his servant, and that the cook MAHARAJ* SINGH would henceforth be endowed with the gifts, spirit, and powers, of an apostle. The dying prophet was then at his own request lifted from the ground and thrown into the river—the new Gooroo reigning in his stead. Maharaj SINGH, the party last indicated, was concerned in the PREMA conspiracy of 1847 : ever since that he had been compelled to keep concealed—preferring to prowl about the country near Lahore in disguise. The troops sent out against him lost much time in crossing the Chenaub, and were unable to make up with the object of their pursuit : a party of Affghans in the Seikh service were at one time close upon his heels : they captured his camp equipments, and slew fifty of his followers—two villages convicted of harbouring him having been destroyed. The force having failed in the main object of their march, returned to Lahore on the 7th June. The Gooroo meanwhile took the route to Mooltan, and after being attacked by the Mahomedans at Jhung, got safe within the fron-

* Maharaj means High Priest—Maharajah, King.

tier, and after having met with various adventures on the way—having on one occasion been reported drowned in a river,—he was able to join the MOOLRAJ, and immediately commenced, as already stated, preaching a crusade against the invaders of the province : from this date his proceedings come under the Mooltan head of news.

The particulars of the dispatch in the end of July of the force for the capture of Mooltan, have already been given at length.—Vide Section II., page 12.

A week after the departure of the troops under Genl. WHISH, a Seikh detachment of 3000 infantry with six guns arrived at Lahore from Mooltan : some 500 of them had gone over to the enemy, and the rest were remanded to the capital as not being fit to be trusted on service.*

The place of the force dispatched for Mooltan was wisely supplied with the least possible delay from the rear. No one for a moment deamt of the possibility of Genl. WHISH being foiled, and as it was reckoned that operations might be begun by the 25th August at latest, it was believed that by the 10th September at all events MOOLRAJ would be in our hands, and the British Banner floating over the battlements of the citadel.

The astounding intelligence of the raising of the siege on the 14th September reached Lahore on the 16th, and was forwarded without delay to head quarters. Up to this time everything had been tranquil at Lahore, and no suspicion of treachery seemed to have been entertained by the wildest. The defection of SHERE SINGH, preceded as it had been two months before by that of his father CHUTTER SINGH, probably led to the suspicion that the roots of treason had penetrated more deeply, and spread wider, than had hitherto been surmised. About ten o'clock at night, just after the evil tidings had been received, orders were sent to H. M. 53d to hold themselves in readiness for immediate service. They occupied the Huzzoorie Baugh, a garden connected with the Palace by a vaulted entrance, which had been locked up after the arrival of our troops at Lahore. The vault was now cleared without loss of time, and the Durbar ordered to be assembled in the citadel. It sat from four until nine in the morning of the 17th, during all which time the entrance to the citadel was guarded by our troops. All the commanders of regiments were in attendance, ready to receive instructions, at the Quartermaster-General's, till the meeting was over : the troops were ordered not to quit their lines. The Sirdar GOOLAUB SINGH, son of the insurgent CHUTTUR SINGH, and brother of the traitor SHERE SINGH, was arrested in the Durbar, and all his papers seized. The Maharajah DHULLEEP SINGH had been betrothed to his sister, and GOOLAUB had in consequence an influential post in the palace. It had been said some time before, that in consequence of the appearance of a planet, English influence was nearly over in the Punjaub,—and the family, three members of which have just been named, proposed to carry off the young Maharajah, expel us, and reseat him without trammels on the throne. Four other arrests took place during the 18th, European sentries being placed over the arrested parties. The impression had gone forth that the Maharajah had actually been made away with, and to counteract this His Highness took a ride in public in the evening. Near the large Seikh city of Umritsir stands the strong castle of Govindghur—a palace, a fortress, and a prison. The faithfulness of the garrison of this stronghold having become doubtful, it was resolved to occupy it with British troops, and accordingly a regiment of infantry and SKINNER'S irregular horse were dispatched to capture it. A party of 150 of the Guide Corps first obtained admission on pretence of escorting prisoners. The cavalry followed, when the garrison were made aware that their services were no longer required. Govindghur was now garrisoned, and placed under the command of Colonel MCSHERRY.

For the next six weeks the history of affairs at the capital is engrossed in that of Mooltan, which has been already given, or of the distant provinces just

* Letter in the *Calcutta Englishman*, dated Lahore, 17th August.

about to be narrated. The Resident having heard of the success of CHUTTUR SIGNH on the 1st September, sent off a request to Simlah for a force, consisting of H. M. 61st foot, a wing of the 10th iregular and 2d irregular cavalry, a troop of horse and a company of foot artillery, with the 3d and 53d N. I., about 3000 in all, to proceed from the Jullundhur Doab into the Hazareh country Had they advanced they would in all likelihood have been quite competent to put down insurrection there, and to throw such a garrison into Attock as might have not only maintained the fort, but awed Peshawur and alarmed the insurgents around with the fear of an attack on their rear. They had scarcely well prepared for the march when they were countermanded. They once more received orders to move on the 22nd, which were again followed up by counter-orders: they never crossed the frontier in reality at all.

PESHAWUR, HAZAREH, AND BUNNOO.—One of the strongest outposts on the Seikh Frontier is the city of Peshawur, about twelve miles from the mouth of the Khyber Pass. It contains about 50,000 inhabitants, and is the Capital of the eminently fertile district whose name it bears. It was taken from the Affghans by RUNJEET SINGH in 1836. The population is chiefly Mahomedan, and have ever since borne the Seikh yoke with impatience. For nine years Peshawur had been governed by General AVITABILE—a Corsican officer in the service of the Maharajah,—who retired from India in 1844, having, like the other Europeans employed in the reign of the Old Lion, and by whom the armies of the Maharajah had been brought into the highest state of discipline, been removed from the Seikh service. The grounds of Lord HARDINGE'S aversion to employ our troops in detachment or outstation service, have already been stated; and at Peshawur, accordingly, a division of Durbar troops, about 1000 strong, was employed.

Major G. St. P. LAWRENCE, brother of the Resident, formerly Secretary to Sir W. MACNAGHTEN, and one of the captives at Cabool, was appointed Resident at Peshawur, of which GOOLAUB SINGH Povindeea was Governor. Sultan MAHOMED KHAN Baruckzye, formerly Governor when Peshawur belonged to Cabool, was released from bondage at Lahore and restored to his estates. Lieutenant BOWIE, Bengal Artillery, was in the end of 1847 appointed assistant to the Resident. The districts of Bunnoo and Tank, of which frequent mention will shortly require to be made, are situated in the mountain country about an hundred miles to the westward of Peshawur. They were amongst the conquests of RUNJEET SINGH from Affghanistan. The people are so wild and fierce that no troops or civil officers were kept in the country, and the Seikhs did not so much as attempt to govern them. A strong force was sent annually amongst the people to collect as much revenue as could be extorted at the sword's point. The country, naturally strong and impenetrable, had been made doubly so by art. Every village was fortified—every mansion of note was a fortress. This was a state of matters which could not be suffered to endure; and in the middle of December 1847, accordingly, a strong force, consisting of three regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, and a troop of horse artillery, were dispatched, under Colonel JOHN HOLMES, of the Durbar service, to reduce the country to order. They were accompanied by the contingents of the three great Affghan Chiefs SULTAN, PEER, and SAID MAHOMED, headed by these Chiefs themselves. Lieutenant TAYLOR accompanied them as British representative. They appear to have experienced little difficulty on the way, and took possession of the country without opposition. FUTTEH KHAN Tawanah was appointed Governor, and the people were made aware that no injury or violence was intended them—that in future the troops would prevent disorder, and protect them from their enemies—that they must submit to the laws, and pay a fixed revenue of moderate amount, which would be systematically exacted from them. Matters were found so easily arranged that the Baruckzye Sirdars returned within a few weeks to Peshawur, leaving their troops in charge of their respective sons. Lieutenant TAYLOR made over charge of the districts to Lieutenant EDWARDES—one of the assistants to the

Resident, who had peculiarly distinguished himself in the Cashmere expedition of 1846, and who could little have imagined at the time how nearly he was on the eve of acquiring renown. Lieutenant LUMSDEN had just completed the revenue survey of the Eusufzaie country, and was busily engaged with that of the Kuttack districts near the provincial capital. In January the SHERE SINGH regiment of dragoons, with a corps of infantry, reached Peshawur to take the place of corps of similar descriptions sent to Bunnoo. Some riots occurred in the province early in May, when several murders were committed in the course of the collecting of the revenue. It was found necessary to send out an armed force against the rioters, and Lieutenant NICHOLSON having attacked and reduced the place of rendezvous, brought the occupants prisoners to Peshawur. This was said to have greatly annoyed Sultan MAHOMED KHAN, who had shortly before been ordered on this service but seemed reluctant to perform it. Major LAWRENCE at this time (May) was directed to raise a regiment of Affghans, as the fidelity of the Seikhs, who had just heard of the murder of our officers at Mooltan and conspiracy at Lahore, began to be looked on with suspicion. The Seikh soldiers, who at first took umbrage at this, were restored to good humour by good management and having the drilling of the levies assigned to them. The force at this time consisted of five troops of horse artillery, one bullock battery, three regiments of Seikh and three of Affghan infantry, two regiments of irregular infantry, two of dragoons, and about 1000 Goorcharas as retainers of the Chiefs—in all about 6000 men with 36 guns. Major LAWRENCE, like his brother politicals, was perfectly well aware of the danger of permitting murder to go unpunished, and the tendency of the Seikhs at all times to indulge in violence, and combine for the purposes of insurrection, where the slightest hope of impunity existed. It was well known from the beginning, as has repeatedly been stated, that our great difficulty lay in guarding ourselves against the animosity of the Khalsa troops, four times defeated by our armies, and now stript of all the power, consequence and consideration, which they formerly enjoyed when they ruled supreme almost over government and people;—and the outstation politicals, one and all, so soon as they became aware of the state of matters at Mooltan, warned the Resident at Lahore that the only hope of maintaining tranquillity and order lay in the adoption of the most prompt and stringent measures with the insurgents. Major LAWRENCE in particular stated that he saw no reason to apprehend the spread of disaffection if that which had already made its appearance were dealt with immediately, but that he could not be answerable for the consequences of delay. So soon as MOOLRAJ found that there was nothing for him but to make the best of the position he had assumed, and that the vacillation and procrastination of the British Authorities presented an excellent opportunity of stirring up the Seikhs in all directions, he sent a messenger to Cabool to work on the supposed antipathies of DOST MAHOMED, and stir him up to a descent on Peshawur, which he was promised as a reward for his services. The DOST declined entering on any terms with the insurgents, and the ambassador took his way down the passes and proceeded on his mission around Peshawur. Here his attempts to excite the troops and people to disaffection, were detected early in July, and he himself seized and placed in confinement. Sultan MAHOMED KHAN was at this time supposed to be but ill-disposed to the existing order of things; but so orderly were the people, that the Chiefs were of their own accord sending in the full amount of revenue due by them, instead of waiting, as was their wont, to have it extorted at the sword's point. As the tidings of each successive resolve and counter-resolve of the Authorities gained currency, a feverish and unquiet feeling began to exhibit itself through the districts. The fact in many spread the impression that some great general commotion was at hand; and the determination of the Commander-in-Chief, which about this time became known, to permit no operation to be began earlier than October, and no army to take the field less than 30,000 strong, led to the belief that we were afraid, and were aware that the Seikhs were strong and powerful, and the danger to be apprehended from them great. In fact, the consequences which invariably follow pusillanimity, in this case made their

appearance: the courage of our adversaries rose as ours fell, and their desire to rise ripened into determination just as they saw our purposes to defend ourselves and punish them on the spot becoming "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought." The Hazareh country was the first place in which this unlucky state of matters showed itself. CHUTTUR SINGH, the father of SHERE SINGH,—in charge of the Durbar troops then near Mooltan, and one of the most unscrupulous of the Seikh Chiefs,—was Governor of the country—a wild, turbulent, and mutinous district, which had originally been given over to GOOLAUB SINGH but was afterwards restored by exchange for another province to the Durbar. He was an old, confidential, and intimate, friend of GOOLAUB SINGH, and, like the other Seikhs of Attock, was much chagrined at the loss of power and consequence sustained by them and his brethren under our administration. Their High Priest was at this time said to have absolved them of their sins, so as to secure them heavenly bliss in case of death: and they had resolved to steal DHULLEEP SINGH from Lahore, release him from all engagements with us, and set him up by their own arms an independent Seikh Sovereign. Captain ABBOTT, of the Bengal artillery—distinguished for his intrepid journey from Herat by Khiva and Moscow to St. Petersburg in 1840,—was the officer in political charge of the district, under Major LAWRENCE at Peshawur. A considerable detachment of Seikh troops was employed within the province. About the end of July, Colonel CANARA, commanding a body of artillery, wrote to Captain ABBOTT apprising him of the unsatisfactory feeling beginning to make its appearance, and requesting that provision might be made to meet any emergency that might arise. The bearer of the letter, suspicious of its contents, placed it in the hands of CHUTTUR SINGH in place of conveying it to its destination. On this, SULTAN MAHOMED, general of artillery, was directed by CHUTTUR SINGH to order Colonel CANARA to bring his guns to a place appointed by the chief. CANARA declined compliance until the order should be confirmed by Captain ABBOTT.* CHUTTUR SINGH sent a strong body of men to enforce obedience, when CANARA, in endeavouring to fire on and drive them off, was cut down or shot by his own men. The first accounts of this which reached the capital occasioned but little alarm, and it was looked on as one of those rows amongst the troops so common before we took charge of the country,—when blood was so recklessly shed, and when the officers themselves frequently provoked the outrages from which they suffered. Captain ABBOTT, with Lieutenant ROBERTSON and Mr INGRAM, were at this time at Jeereekut, beyond the reach of the malcontents. Major LAWRENCE was at once made aware of what had occurred, and informed that the object the insurgents would in all likelihood first seek to attain would be the possession of Attock—a strong fortress on the banks of the Indus commanding the ford and roads to Peshawur. On the 31st of August, Major LAWRENCE was made aware that CHUTTUR SINGH with all the troops he could collect was within six miles of Attock, in which Lieutenant NICHOLSON had command, and that in the course of next day or the one following, the place would very likely be invested; and he begged that reinforcements might be sent him without delay. MAHOMED OOSMAN KHAN—for a short time Vizier to the SHAH SOOJAH—had just been dispatched. Lieutenant HERBERT was ordered to follow instantly: he joined NICHOLSON on the 1st September.

The garrison at Attock now consisted of above 1000 men—all stout Affghans, whose courage and fidelity it was believed might be entirely depended on,—with eight guns, and a three months' supply of provisions. CHUTTUR SINGH had approached, ignorant apparently of the force prepared to resist him; and not at all aware that before the present reinforcement from Peshawur arrived, a previous one had been thrown by Lieutenant NICHOLSON, on his way to Hussan Abdall, into the town. The insurgent Chief, finding his purpose thus foiled, halted on pretence of permitting the Mahomedans of his force to observe the Eed, and finding further attempts in the last degree unpromising, returned to Rawul Pindee. NICHOLSON, having thus made everything snug and secure in Attock, considered

* The above is abridged from the *Bombay Telegraph and Courier*.

that his best course was to take the field again, and join his camp and levies, distant about twelve miles.* He quitted on the 1st September, the moment HERBERT arrived. Four days afterwards we find him at Killa Seraie, closely watching the insurgents. Having heard that CHUTTUR SINGH had packed his heavy baggage away with a view of proceeding to the relief of the troops held in check by ABBOTT and ROBERTSON in the Hazareh Country, NICHOLSON determined on attacking a Seikh detachment in the Margulla Pass, so as to distract the attention of the rebels in the neighbourhood, and prevent them thinking of assisting their brethren at a distance. On the 5th September he attacked a Boorj or Fortalice, defended by forty matchlock-men, but was foiled in his attempt to capture it. After a long and obstinate struggle, during which NICHOLSON himself was wounded by a blow on the head from a stone, and Col. BHOOD SINGH was at one time believed to have been killed, had been maintained, CHUTTUR SINGH with his whole force arrived in person, and succeeded in relieving the garrison in the town, and compelling its assailants to retire. Next morning, (6th September,) the tower was destroyed by the insurgents, who now relieved of obstruction, made a forced march on Hurreepore, ten miles east from Torbela on the Indus. CHUTTUR SINGH had left his heavy guns behind him at Kote Seraie. NICHOLSON lost not a moment in starting in pursuit, in hopes of frustrating the purposes of his opponents. A forced march of great length, and performed with unusual rapidity, threw him between the insurgent chief and the troops which it was his object to relieve. ABBOTT made a similar march for the same end from another quarter. He took up a strong post in the hills on the line of the advance of the insurgents, and the only two roads by which the Seikh guns could pass were thus guarded against them. Their time was improved by the enemy in securing means of advance other than their weapons could supply. The troops having been bought over, the insurgents advanced, and the troops under NICHOLSON and ABBOTT took to their heels before the enemy could reach them even with their camel-guns. The officers caused the soldiers who were faithful to him to fire on the fugitives: for a moment their flight was checked by this, to be renewed with double celerity the next day GOOLAUB SINGH having been applied to for assistance, sent two regiments of Seikh troops to our aid: these on reaching the scene of action went immediately over to the enemy. CHUTTUR SINGH now (9th September) encamped at Nowashur, where he remained for several days, the Gondia brigade, now relieved from blockade, having joined him. The Chief here found himself at the head of six regiments of infantry, probably 5000 in all, 600 horsemen, and sixteen guns. ABBOTT, with Lieut. ROBERTSON and Mr INGRAM, returned to Narra. NICHOLSON, now abandoned by the bulk of his infantry, retired on Futteh Jung, with a detachment of horse. Here he was in communication with Rajah DEENA NATH, who had been sent out from Lahore with a view of endeavouring to bring about some arrangement amongst the Hazarehs, but finding his efforts vain, returned to the capital on the 10th. The chief source of alarm now was, that CHUTTUR SINGH might proceed in the direction of Peshawur, and manage to seduce the troops from their allegiance. To prevent this, orders were given by NICHOLSON to have the boats at Attock destroyed and the ford guarded. Further reinforcements were thrown into the fort, and during these arrangements a boat containing a serjeant of the Sappers and Miners named DENTON, with four of the sepoys belonging to his Corps, a brother of KAHIM KHAN, on his way down to Attock, and fifty or sixty Affghans, struck upon a rock some way above the ferry, when fourteen persons were drowned. The news of the defection of SHERE SINGH from General WHISH's force on the 14th September, and the consequent raising of the siege of Mooltan, now began to spread on all sides, and to produce the utmost mischief everywhere.

* *Delhi Gazette*, to which paper and its correspondents we are indebted for nine-tenths of all the information embodied in these narratives, so far as the Punjaub and Upper Provinces are concerned.

The dispatch of troops from Peshawur in the middle of December 1847 to reduce the turbulent provinces of Bunnoo and Tank, has already been mentioned (page 35.) These had been from the time of their arrival quartered in the country, which seems to have been brought into subjection with very little trouble indeed. They amounted to some 5000 men with six guns, under the command of Colonel JOHN HOLMES, of the Seikh service. FUTTEH KHAN Tawana, a man of energy and talent, but stained, like most of the Seikh Chiefs, with cruelty, and surrounded by enemies, was appointed governor of the province: a fort called Dhulleep Ghur had been built by order of the authorities as the head-quarters of the local government and army. On the 19th September the unhappy tidings from Mooltan reached Bunnoo, and the spirit of insubordination began immediately to show itself. On the 20th, the troops rose in open mutiny, and declared themselves for the insurrection. They first attacked Dhulleep Ghur, and murdered the governor and commander of the forces. They next proceeded to join the insurgents, but apparently at a loss to which particular section to attach themselves, they kept the field for a couple of months, and at length appeared in the camp of SHERE SINGH about the end of November. Strange to tell, while the Durbar force, which had been sent seven months before to bring the refractory Affghans into subjection to the Lahore authorities, now appeared in the field against their lawful sovereign, a strong detachment of Affghans from the very country they had reduced, were fighting stoutly on our side under EDWARDES before Mooltan. About this time the tidings which had overthrown their loyalty reached Peshawur, and threatened to be productive of effects not less momentous than it had been at Bunnoo. On the 4th September, Major LAWRENCE was informed that the residency was to be attacked by the Seikh regiments at that station in the course of the night. Having set spies in the camp, it was considered prudent, from what was observed by them, to secure all the artillery: over one party companies of trustworthy infantry where placed: the Mahomedan commander of the other gave his men to understand that the first sign of misconduct he saw amongst them he would salute them with a few rounds of grape; and the assurance proved sufficient to keep them at peace. Just after this, the Sultan MAHOMED KHAN began to be suspected: he made on the 6th arrangements for the dispatch of 300 females of his household to Kohat, and the opportunity was considered a favourable one by Major LAWRENCE for the removal of his family to Lahore. He seems, however, to have changed his mind on this matter, and for the next fortnight everything remained in a state of tranquillity. It was at the same time bruited abroad, that the Seikhs were on terms with the Affghan Sirdars: that in the event of DOST MAHOMED assisting the insurgents, the provinces beyond the Indus seized by RUNJEET SINGH would be restored to the Ameer, and that Sultan MAHOMED KHAN would once more be made governor of Peshawur. Well aware that in a crisis so delicate, no reliance whatever could be placed on those around him, and deeply impressed with the extreme inexpediency of permitting the malcontents to commit themselves by open acts of insubordination against the government, Major LAWRENCE applied in August to the Resident for a strong detachment to be sent against the insurrection in the Hazareh country, which might then have been crushed in the bud. A force of 5000 men under General WHEELER were in the beginning of September accordingly ordered to hold themselves in readiness: on the 22nd they were directed to move without a moment's delay. But the Commander-in-Chief was again unfortunately referred to, and as the grand scheme of a campaign in the cold weather with his excellency in person at the head of 30,000 men, had now taken full possession of his mind, any minor arrangement by which a project so stupendous might have been upset, was at once discountenanced; and WHEELER's force, when all but on their way, were ordered to stand fast, and the officers at outstations left to manage as they best might for themselves. On the evening of the 21st, the news of the raising of the siege of Mooltan reached Peshawur, and it was expected, as a matter of course, that this would be the signal for the immediate defection of the troops. For two days they remained in ignorance of what had occurred. On the 22nd, Mrs LAWRENCE and

her family started for Lahore under an escort of 500 Affghans. They performed the first past of their journey to the capital auspiciously, when the country seemed so dangerous that they were persuaded to turn off and join Sultan MAHOMED KHAN and his family at Kohat. Here they remained for some weeks, when Major LAWRENCE and his party joined them. This however is an anticipation. So admirable were the arrangements of the gallant officer just named, and so perfect was the hold obtained by him over those around him, that though now completely cut off from the capital, with treason and rebellion on every side of him, and no hope of assistance presenting itself from any quarter whatever, everything for weeks after the tidings of SHERE SINGH's insurrection were received remained tranquil around him. Had aid of any kind ever been sent him, we should in all likelihood have had no further defection on the frontier, and no gigantic campaign to commence after the last of our great victories were won. This view of the matter, now verified by fact, was entertained beforehand by almost every one save those chiefly concerned in entertaining it. On the 23th September, two regiments of Seikh cavalry, and one of infantry, were inspected by the Resident. Though warned beforehand that the occasion would be taken advantage of for his assassination, he rode about amongst the troops, and set them to rights when they blundered in their exercise, just as he would have done had he been at the head of his own regiment within the British dominions. Two native officers were put in confinement for having gone to pay their respects to an insurgent chief on returning from leave; and an emissary from Mooltan detected tampering with the men was hanged at once. Ever since the 4th of September, when disaffection was suspected, he had kept possession of the Seikh guns, which remained in Affghan charge. The perfect self-reliance in his resources thus manifested by Major LAWRENCE, and his determination neither to truckle nor temporize, had the effect desired. All promotions were made and rewards conferred through his hands, and his absolute power to honor the deserving or disgrace the unworthy, was felt by every one.

Colonel BHOOP SINGH, and five other officers of rank were said at this time to have offered to quit the insurgent camp and join us. The proposal was closed with at once,—our policy being to break up the confederacy by any means, and to show the confederates how little they could trust each other, and how much more they had to gain by adhering to us than by opposing us. The success of CHUTTUR SINGH was the first severe trial the fidelity of the garrison at Peshawur had encountered: the next was the defection of the Bunnoo troops: the third the treachery of SHERE SINGH and raising of the siege of Mooltan. The advance of the lastnamed Chief—who left Mooltan on the 9th (vide page 22)—on the Salt Range, and threatened junction of the three great bodies of insurgents now in the field, proved too much for them. On the morning of Monday the 23rd October, accordingly, the whole of the Sikh portion of the force broke into open mutiny, and on the following night, about nine o'clock, the Mahomedan regiment of Colonel MEER JUNGEE, the one on which Major LAWRENCE mostly depended for support, fired on the residency, and were followed by the artillery; and as the report of the cannonade would quickly have brought down the Seikh mutineers encamped on the eastern side of the town, Major LAWRENCE considered that the time had come for vacating his position, and that he could do no further good by remaining. About an hour after the commencement of the attack, the Resident and Lieut. BOWIE mounted, and with Mr THOMPSON (the apothecary) and his wife, under an escort of fifty Affghan horse, moved out to the gate at the south. All the Punjaubee companies inside the residency compound were turning against them, and it was with some difficulty they got out at all. Five minutes more and they must have fallen into the hands of the enemy. The whole party arrived in safety at Kohat about 10 A. M. on the 25th.

There are few things observed with more sanctity amongst the Affghans than the virtue of hospitality: so long as a stranger enjoys the shelter of their roof, his

person is sacred—his defence against his enemies as much the concern of the host as if he were a member of the family. Trusting to this, and to the very deep obligations under which Sultan MAHOMED KHAN had been laid by us, no apprehension whatever was entertained of treachery or falsehood. The character of the Barnckzye Chief had been too favourably viewed by us. CHUTTUR SINGH having secured Peshawur, now moved to the southward: his outposts were at one time reported to have crossed the Jhelum and moved on the Chenaub; and Sultan MAHOMED KHAN, in defiance of all obligations, placed the English guests in the hands of the Seikhs as prisoners. Here they remained from the middle of November till the 6th March, when they were restored to us at the time the Seikh Chiefs themselves surrendered. Nor is it easy to divine the reason why their custody should have been coveted, unless it was that ultimately Major LAWRENCE might be required to be employed, as he afterwards actually was, in negociating terms of peace: the others probably might have been looked on as hostages for the safety of the lives of any of the Seikh Chiefs who might fall into our hands. NICHOLSON with his horse had now moved to the south and taken possession of the strong town of Ramnuggur on the Chenaub: as SHERE SINGH moved up from Mooltan, and CHUTTUR SINGH hastened to descend from the upper country, he proceeded to Lahore, and returned shortly after to Ramnuggur, where the service he rendered the Commander in-Chief was so notable that a separate memoir of his proceedings might be written with advantage. ABBOTT still continued to maintain himself in the Hazareh Country, being the only one of all our outpost officers who kept his ground to the last.

Meanwhile an event as inauspicious as unexpected had occurred. DOST MAHOMED with his son and Chiefs, and a large body of Affghans, had descended the Khyber Pass and proceeded to re-occupy Peshawur. How so fearful a blunder as this should have been committed by a Chief throughout life so highly famed for sagacity and foresight as the Ameer of Cabool, cannot as yet be explained. Peshawur had originally been a part of the Dooraunee Empire: it was overrun by RUNJEET SINGH in 1819, but finding it too troublesome a possession to be incorporated with his dominions, Barnckzye Sirdars had been suffered to rule over it, while a sort of nominal supremacy and moderate tribute were all the Punjaub ruler claimed. In 1837 the provincial capital fell by fraud into the Seikh hands, who thenceforth resolved to rule with a rod of iron that which they had with so much difficulty secured. It was the determination of DOST MAHOMED to recover this, which led to the Affghan war,—we having most unaccountably interfered to protect the robber in the enjoyment of the prey he had seized, and to prevent the rightful owner from recovering his own. It has already been stated that the insurgents had at an early period of the season offered to restore the provinces beyond the Indus to the Ameer of Cabool provided he would join their cause, and that at first the offer was declined. The Affghans now descended into the plains, but did not join the Seikhs: they seemed at one time disposed to assist us, and, uncertain how to act, employed their time according to the instincts of their nature—in plundering all and sundry. A few of them are said to have fought at Chillianwalla on the 13th January: a large body of them were opposed to us at Goojrat on the 21st February. They now moved down the Indus, and their brethren in Attock, seeing, as they thought, the star of England on the wane, could no longer resist the temptation to fraternize. WHISH had been six months before Mooltan, which still held out: the Commander-in-Chief at the head of 20,000 men had rested for two months on the Chenaub, as if afraid to advance. Seven years were insufficient to wipe out the memory of Cabool. On the 6th November the gates of Attock were thrown open; HERBERT escaped with difficulty. The Affghans entered the town, plundered the merchants, violated the women, and inflicted insult and disgrace, and excited astonishment everywhere.

In thus bringing this section of our narrative to a close, we have been compelled to depart somewhat from the strictly chronological order of events: the subjects

to be disposed of were of comparatively so small importance that it appeared better to get rid of them at once than to leave them and return to them in the midst of more stirring and important events. And here we may be permitted to remark how brilliant and how successful has in general been the career in India of young men left untrammelled and in perfectly independent command, in comparison to that of our hoary veterans armed with the resources of the State, but loaded with the fear of responsibility the forms and encumbrances of elevated office imposed.

The subject of boy-politicals overruling the measures of Majors-General, is a favorite theme of ridicule. As for their youth, they are generally as old as was ALEXANDER THE GREAT when he conquered Persia—as was NELSON when he commanded a fleet—PITT when he was Prime Minister—NAPOLEON when he conquered Italy—WELLINGTON when he won Assaye—or BYRON when he wrote "Childe Harold." The most illustrious commander of his time might at the age of three score and ten shrink from perilling his fame at a second Waterloo, and our armies would be none the less secure of earning laurels were they led by men who had other qualifications to boast of than this—that "they took lessons in the art of war in Spain" or Belgium, and for a third part of a century had slept on their laurels. How strikingly do the achievements of EDWARDES, LAWRENCE, NICHOLSON, ABBOTT, and HERBERT, contrast with those of GOUGH and WHISH! Should we have had a Ramnuggur, a Chillianwallah, or a raising of the Siege of Mooltan, to deplore, had any of the young men we have named held supreme authority?

With much nepotism and jobbery, and multitudes of incapables put forward on the score of interest, the bulk of such appointments as those we have named are made on considerations of capability: a man of spirit and activity left absolutely to his own resources, without control and with little to alarm and everything to stimulate, is almost sure to rise to eminence. When men see regiments and whole armies led to victory by two or three English officers, a question naturally arises whether we do not require rather to improve the qualifications of the Englishmen in command in India, than to encrease their number? How many millions might be saved were merit exclusively made the ground of advancement?

THE JULLUNDHUR FRONTIER.—It will be remembered that by the Treaty of February 1846 the Seikh Territory betwixt the Sutlej and the Beeas, known by the name of the Jullundhur Doab, was ceded by the Durbar to the British Government. It consisted partly of healthy mountain land, well suited for the cantonments of European troops, partly of fine fertile plains near the banks and at the junction of the rivers, yielding in all a revenue of above a quarter of a million. In this province some 3000 or 10,000 British troops were quartered.* Till nearly the end of September the most profound tranquillity prevailed in the district; nor does any one of the malcontents against whom Brigadier WHEELER was afterwards employed seem to have had any connection with the general insurrection within the Lahore dominions, or any view of aiding the insurgents. The time was a disturbed one, and the opportunity it presented favourable for unquiet spirits rais-

* The following statement of the position of our troops on the Frontier in the month of September is given by a correspondent of the *Mofussilite*. Though we cannot vouch for its accuracy, it has every appearance of being correct:—

"Were the whole Punjaub to be in a state of insurrection, what in the name of patience would it matter to us, except as bearing out the prophecies made by you with so much boldness in 1846?

"There are now, as I understand, some twenty-five thousand men whom a few days would concentrate, 10,000 of these being actually in and around the city of Lahore. A powerful reserve of 12,000 men is available from the Hill Stations and Umballah, boasting of a strong European force. In short, three weeks would give the General taking the field about double the force with which Sobraon was fought, when the Seikhs were unbroken in spirit and possessed a powerful Artillery,—where the British troops had a dangerous river in their front and no reserve in their rear.

"Assume the very worst,—that every Punjabee is ready to strike home to get rid of British rule: is it nothing I would ask, that we have a ready good line of operation, 37,000 disposable

ing an uproar amongst the people. Early in September various unsatisfactory symptoms began to make their appearance. On the mountain frontier of the Doab to the north-west of Jullundhur, the Chief of Noorpoor on some ground of real or supposed offence, began to take the opportunity of giving us annoyance. RAM SINGH, son of the Vizier of the Noorpoor Rajah, who had been himself imprisoned for malpractices in the management of the affairs of the state, was for some time a follower of the Gooroo, whose achievements have already been detailed (Page 53.) On the reverend chief encountering difficulties which caused his followers to abandon him, RAM SINGH returned to the Jullundhur, and collected a body of followers at Pathen Kote. His first adventure was an attack on the Custom House, where two individuals were killed by him. On the tidings of this reaching Hooshcearpore, Mr W. SANDES, the civil authority on the spot, set out with Capt. DAVIDSON and a detachment of Horse in quest of the delinquents. Major FISHER with a party of Irregulars and a company of the 29th N. I. immediately followed, and joined the rest after a march of forty miles, accomplished in one day. The marauders were found in a place of considerable strength; they were immediately attacked, and put to flight. The advantage was followed up with the utmost promptitude. On the 15th further reinforcements joined. A reconnoitring party were sent out on the 16th with the Commissioner, who on their return to camp were waylaid and attacked by about forty of the enemy. These were dispersed by the timely arrival of the escourt, but the position of the enemy was found too strong to be attacked without reinforcements. These having arrived, a strong force, consisting of four companies of the 71st, one company of the 29th, 250 men of HODGSON'S Seikh corps, with strong parties of the 15th and 16th irregulars, and 150 of the hill Seikh regiment, were sent against him. On the evening of the 18th September they arrived in camp outside Noorpoor. The insurgent force was encamped on a low spur covered with thick jungle, surrounded on three sides by the dry bed of a river: it was accessible only by rude paths traversible by one man at a time. On the fourth side it was connected with the hills by a narrow ridge of jungly broken ground, with thick coppice and brushwood on either side. The attack was planned by Major FISHER, and most gallantly carried out by the troops. Parties forced their way up the steep on all sides, and met on its summit. The insurgents fought with the utmost courage and coolness, loading and firing as they retired. They were completely routed and defeated, leaving, out of 250, betwixt fifty and sixty killed and wounded behind them. Fifteen prisoners were taken—the leader escaped. We

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troops, including some 8,000 Europeans, without taking into account Meerut or Agra? Such is the case. I give the figures as nearly as I can at this mountain station, without the power of consulting returns.

Lahore	10,000 men,	including	2,300	Europeans.
Ferozepore	6,000 "	"	1,000	"
Jullundhur, Loodhiana, Mukkoo, Phillour	10,000 "	"	1,300	"
Hill Stations, Umballa	12,000 "	"	4,000	"
	38,000 "	"	8,600	"

"I enumerate the European regiments, to prevent the charge of exaggeration.

Her Majesty's 10th, 53rd	Lahore.
" 29th	Kussowlie.
" 61st	Jullundhur.
" 32d	Umballa.
Honorable Company's 2d Europeans	Subathoo.
Her Majesty's 3rd Dragoons	Umballa.
" 14th ditto	Ferozepore.

"The European Artillery at the various stations will fill up the number above stated.

"On paper therefore we have some 8,000 men. Say that we could take the field at once with 7,000 Europeans and 20,000 Sepoys, and I think it will be allowed that there is no cause for very great alarm.

"Such an army is enough to conquer India *de novo*—much more to put down an insurrection in the Punjaub, though it should extend from the Sutlej to Peshawur."

had one man killed and eight or ten wounded. The rebels were so hotly pursued that it was found convenient for them to disperse, their chief having been severely wounded and narrowly escaped capture.

A detachment sent out from Lahore, consisting of part of SKINNER's horse, a party of the 2nd irregular cavalry, and two guns, together with the 46th N. I., crossed the Ravee on the 7th Oct. They were in pursuit of URJUN SINGH, a noted freebooter, who had entrenched himself inside the fort of Goojranwalla, and bade defiance to the Durbar. They had hardly crossed the river when information, was received that the object of their quest had fled; and they were ordered to bivouac for the night. Instructions were next morning received from the Brigadier that the cavalry should push on for the stronghold of the freebooter. This they reached on the 9th, and immediately mined and blew up the building. The cavalry were accompanied by Mr COCKS. The whole party returned to Lahore on the 11th—the mounted portion of them having traversed eighty miles of ground in four days, and been at one stretch nineteen hours in their saddles. Had there been a bridge over the Ravee, or any other means of crossing the river rapidly, URJUN SINGH would in all likelihood have been made prisoner. There is a fort belonging to this rebel, and another to LALL-SINGH, who had also fraternized with CHUTTUR SINGH, about two marches across the Beas in the direction of Umritsir. For the reduction of these, Brigadier WHEELER, with a force consisting of the 61st foot, 7th cavalry, 2nd irregular horse 3rd troop 1st brigade horse, and 4th company 6 h battalion foot artillery, with No. 19 light field battery, and the 3rd N. I., crossed that river on the 12th: the following morning they reached the fort of Rungrungul, and for four hours continued to batter the walls with their artillery. The fire was again resumed in the evening, and the following morning (14th) it was discovered that the enemy had evacuated it under cover of the darkness of the night. It was found to be a mud fort of considerable strength, surrounded by a ditch. A considerable quantity of grain was secured in it, but neither guns nor ammunition of any kind. Our loss was one man of the 2nd irregular horse killed, and a few wounded. The town, which lay a short distance in front of the fort, was in the possession of the Guide Corps when the brigade reached. They had been joined by a few additional guns on the 13th from Boodee Pind, and four eight-inch mortars had been ordered by the Brigadier's desire to be furnished them from Phillour. These having arrived, the fort of Moraree was proceeded against, when on the 26th it was found that the enemy had decamped on our approach. Both forts were destroyed, and WHEELER, relieved from further anxiety, proceeded to make arrangements for crossing the Ravee about twenty miles above Lahore, to place himself in communication with the Grand Army then assembling. On the 16th November, when the brigade was hastening rapidly on to its destination, orders were received to make all haste to join CAMPBELL and CURETON, then threatened by the enemy. The order arrived at 10 o'clock at night, when the troops were reposing after a sixteen miles' march: next morning at two they were on their way, when, after a rapid march, they received orders to halt and await further instructions. On the 21st they were countermarched, and after two days' marches of eighteen miles each they approached the fort of Killawalla,—two of the three strongholds against which they had been sent having been found evacuated. When within six miles of the enemy, the 7th light cavalry, the 2nd and 15th irregulars, with SWINEY's horse artillery, were ordered to push on at once, as there was reason to apprehend an attempt being made to escape: the 3rd N. I., with the horse battery and bullock guns, followed as rapidly as they could. In half an hour they reached the fort. The 7th light cavalry were sent to secure the northern, the 2nd and 15th irregulars the southern, side: the horse artillery drew up on the western face. A large body of the enemy now endeavoured to escape: they were rapidly pursued: they asked for no quarter, and met with none—200 were left dead on the field. The rest of the force having now arrived, the fort was regularly invested. About 3 P. M. the artillery opened, at a distance of 250 yards from the wall, and the battering continued till sunset: a sharp fire from

the fort was maintained all night. The bulk of the garrison escaped under cover of the darkness: 350 in all were supposed to have fallen. We had one man killed and six wounded. The audacity of the enemy had now reached its height, and every robber hold at once became filled with a garrison. Just as the operations we have mentioned were in progress, Brigadier PENNY had crossed the Ravee on the 22nd November, escorting the heavy artillery and engineer train. He proceeded in the direction of Ramnuggur, where the grand army reposed under Lord GOUGH, after the fatal skirmish in which CURETON and HAVELOCK fell, till the 25th, when he received orders to make a movement on the left to attack the fort of Jubber, supposed to be the head-quarters of UTTER SINGH. The detachment dispatched on this errand consisted of two field guns, two irregular corps, and two companies of native infantry. On our artillery opening fire the garrison sued for terms: these were refused, and they marched out and laid down their arms. UTTER SINGH with 3000 men were said to have left four days before,—sixty men only remaining to make a shew of defence: the fort was blown up, the village plundered, and houses burnt. This duty performed, the detachment returned to camp. RAM SINGH having once more made his appearance in the Jullundhur, WHEELER'S force was again sent against him: it was now finally disjoined from the Grand Army, and continued on separate duty until the end of the campaign. With these rapid sketches close our notices of all the lesser affairs and contests of parties in which our troops were engaged for the season, and we must now introduce the Commander-in-Chief of India and the Grand Army of the Punjaub into the field.

SECTION V.

A LARGE army at length ordered to take the field under the personal command of Lord GOUGH. —Troops move from Ferozepore.—Bridge of the Ravee attacked by the Seikhs.—Troops cross and encamp—Push on towards the Chenaub.—Brigadier CAMPBELL takes command.—Lord GOUGH reaches Lahore—Joins the force 21st November.—Reconnoisance—Unhappy affair of 22nd November—Colonels CURETON and HAVELOCK killed.—THACKWELL'S flank movement—Fords found impassable—Attacked by the Seikhs—Prevented pursuing them by protecting his own reinforcements.—Lord GOUGH crosses the Chenaub.—Troops push on and encamp.—Position of our army.—Battle of Chillianwalla—Consequences.

IN the preceding Chapter we have carried on the history of the affairs at the various outstations considerably beyond the point at which we must now take up the second general line of our narrative. These had so little to do with, and bore so lightly on, the grand arrangements under the Commander-in-Chief, and are so slightly affected by them, that it has been deemed better to get rid of the bye-play, and dispose of the minor characters, before the great actor appears on the stage, that the grand business of the bloody drama may be proceeded with without interruption. As already repeatedly stated, the Commander-in-Chief, if universal rumour is to be believed, on first learning of the murder of our politicals, stated that no military demonstration should be made against Mooltan till the close of the hot season, and that when the cold weather set in he would himself take the field with 30,000 men, and reduce everything to order. The statement, which at the time seemed almost incredible, has been so fully verified by after plans, that no doubt of its having been made can now be entertained. * The receipt of the intelligence of the success of EDWARDES and CORTLANDT and the Daudpootras on the 19th June, placed matters in a totally different aspect: it was quite clear that without cavalry or guns an irregular force such as they had at their disposal had no

* The following is an extract from the letter of one of the most distinguished of the heroes of Mooltan:—

"I quite laugh when I hear men say the Commander-in-Chief's *Policy* was to wait till the cold weather,—as if a rebellion could be put off like a champagne tiffin, with a three-cornered note, &c. to any date agreeable to the host. Lord G.'s fiat 'we will wait till October!' would have passed current when accepted by Moolraj on the back, thus: 'I consent—Moolraj!' and countersigned by all the evil spirits in the Punjaub—'So do we!'"

chance of doing more than maintaining their position: if this could be managed, it was much; the risk was, that they might be taken at advantage or unawares, and destroyed. EDWARDES stated the amount of reinforcement that was deemed necessary, and the Resident on receipt of this seems immediately to have ordered the Moveable Brigade at Anarkullee, 3000 strong, with twelve guns, to proceed down the Ravee, while another brigade was to descend the Sutlej with the Siege Train from Ferozepore.* At the same time the Resident sent a statement of his own arrangements, with the requisition of EDWARDES, to Lord GOUGH, with a request that it might be complied with. The Commander-in-Chief declined the responsibility of moving troops in the hot season, though he had two rivers at his command, by either of which they might have been transported to the neighbourhood of the scene of action! On the 11th July an extraordinary council was assembled at Calcutta,—the most extraordinary ever held since the battle of Plassey,—to debate whether the heroic irregulars who had already unaided achieved a series of illustrious victories should have any assistance or not† The conclusion arrived at seems to have been unprofitable: the reference alone had occasioned the loss of a month, when minutes were precious. While the question of reinforcements or none was being debated at Calcutta, the news of another victory under the walls of Mooltan (1st July) appears to have reached the ears of the Resident at Lahore, and softened the resistance of the Commander-in-Chief. On the same day on which the singular council above referred to assembled, orders were received at Lahore ‡ for two brigades to move direct on Mooltan with the least possible delay. They marched under WHISH a fortnight afterwards, and the details of their movements have already been given. (Pp. 12-14.)

The intelligence of the raising of the Siege of Mooltan on the 14th September reached Bombay on the 24th, accompanied by a requisition for troops; and so prompt were the measures adopted that next day the details of the army about to assemble at Roree were made known, the Commander-in-Chief and Staff hastened to the presidency from the Deccan, and every arrangement was proceeded with with the utmost celerity and success. The Commander-in-Chief of India was at Simla when the unhappy intelligence reached him on the 19th, and he issued orders immediately for the formation of an extra brigade at Ferozepore. Colonel CURETON was directed to assemble a cavalry brigade at the same station,—both forces, as was supposed, being destined for the immediate relief of General WHISH. They were in readiness by the 1st of October, and might have been under the walls of Mooltan by the 20th. Colonel ECKFORD was directed to take command of an infantry brigade, and to march for Mooltan from Ferozepore on the 2nd October: he was almost immediately afterwards instructed to stand fast till further orders. After an unaccountable delay of more than a fortnight, ECKFORD'S Brigade received orders on the 18th to march on the following day to reinforce WHISH. The native infantry regiments were ordered to be encreased by 200 men each, the augmentation thus effected amounting to about 18,000.

The force at Ferozepore at this time consisted of Colonel LANE'S troop H. A., the 8th regular and 12th irregular cavalry, the 32nd and 69th N. I., with the three corps of Brigadier ECKFORD'S brigade (the 29th foot and 31st and 56th N. I.) Captain KINLESIDE'S battery, the 2nd Europeans, and the 70th N. I., were expected on the 13th and 14th. WARNER'S troop H. A., with the 5th cavalry, had proceeded to Mumdote, eleven miles to the southward; the 1st cavalry had been sent out to Mukkoo, where they arrived on the 12th.

* As we come now to statements likely to be disputed, we must be more minute than we have hitherto been with our references to authority. The above is given by a correspondent of the *Englishman* writing from Lahore—it is endorsed by the *Friend of India* 13th July: we have no reason to question its accuracy.

† *Friend of India*, 20th July. The *Friend of India* is so cautious, and generally so well informed, that this most extraordinary statement may, we should think, be received as fact: the intelligence of the victory of 1st July reached Calcutta on the 17th.

‡ *Delhi Gazette*, July 19.

The 3rd dragoons and 9th lancers were expected about the 21st, when the whole of the cavalry were ordered to march out to Kussoor. Boor Singh, who had escaped from Mooltan, arrived at Lahore with fifty troopers on the 24th, and Anoor Singh had come in to General Whish's camp; both had been carried across to the fortress when Sherr Singh deserted. The other Chiefs who joined us were received with the utmost marks of respect at Lahore. The following extract from the *Delhi Gazette* of the 25th October shews how matters stood at this time at Lahore and Ferozepore. The report as to the near approach of Chuttur Singh proved wholly without foundation: his troops had never crossed the Jhelum, and were not within a week's march of the Chenaub, but the rumour that they were at hand seems to have been sufficient to alter the whole aspect of our affairs:—

"Definitive orders to march reached Brigadier Eckford on the 18th, and the brigade, or at least the greater part of it, proceeded on its way to Mooltan on Thursday the 19th inst., after an unaccountable delay of nearly three weeks. H. M. 29th foot did not march, it being considered that four European regiments, two now there and two coming from Bombay, ought to be sufficient for the siege of Mooltan. The brigade therefore consists only at present of the 31st and 56th regiments N. I.; accompanied by detachments for H. M. 10th and 32d foot, amounting to about 130 men. It is understood that the 29th foot will be attached to another brigade, and that the native corps to be withdrawn from that will be sent after the Brigadier, in charge of the additional ordnance and stores, for which carriage will hardly be completed before the 31st. These additional guns, viz. two 18-pounders, two 24-pounders, and eight 8-inch mortars, will proceed in charge of Lieut. C. A. Weelwright, as officiating deputy commissary of ordnance, and be accompanied in all probability by the 70th N. I., now belonging to the 4th brigade of the second division of the Army of the Punjaub. Captain Kinleside's battery, instead of being sent with Brigadier Eckford, has been posted, with the remainder of the 69th, on the island in the Sutlej, between the two sections of the bridge, while Captain Dawes' (No 17) light field battery has marched for Mooltan with three reserve companies already mentioned, viz, the 1st, 2nd, and 4th Companies of the 4th Battalion, with the Head Quarters. The following Artillery officers are present with this battery and the companies:—Major Horsford, Captain Dawes, Lieutenants Holland, Dickson, and Goodridge; Surgeon Tritton; Lieutenants Ross, Simson, W. F. Cox, Mayne, and Boswarth. An accession of ten artillery officers, besides one to follow with the additional siege guns, will be very welcome to General Whish. Brigadier Eckford also takes with him two companies of pioneers out of four that reached Ferozepore on the morning of the 19th.—Brigadier-General Cureton had at first taken up a position at Khoonda Ghat, but subsequently crossed the Sutlej, and encamped in the neighbourhood of H. M. 3d Dragoons.—All our correspondents dwell on the extreme confusion that prevails at Ferozepoor in consequence of the previous want of preparation; carriage, bearers, grass, and food, are all become equally scarce. The Government contemplated, indeed ordered, the assembly of an army under any circumstances, so far back as June, and the gradual collection of grain, when it might have been purchased at any place within 100 miles of Ferozepore at from 40 to 45 seers, and of the requisite amount of cattle, though it might have seemed expensive, would have been extremely advantageous to Government. Under the most favorable circumstances as to prices, it is reasonable to suppose that Government would have gained something by the laying in of a stock, as the assembly of an army with its multitudinous camp-followers must at all times greatly enhance the price of food; but when, as has now been the case, natural causes have arisen to increase that price three and four fold, it may easily be imagined what the difference to Government will be. Let us make a rough calculation and shew what has been in all probability actually lost by the want of foresight. The number of men to be assembled at Ferozepore amounts more or less to 20,000 men. Their camp-followers will exceed 100,000, but we will take them at that figure. The army will probably remain embodied at or near Ferozepore for three months at least; the supplies will have to be derived from thence and its neighbourhood. The quantity of grain required

to feed the number of men indicated, will be 3,000 maunds daily, or 90,000 maunds for three months. At 30 seers per rupee, for which or even less the grain might have been purchased on an average three months ago, the cost would have been Rs. 1,20,000; now it will be nearer four lakhs. This item may be taken as a sample; bhoosa, grass and gram, or such other food as may be provided for horses, will be all equally dear, and entail a proportionate loss on the Govt. H. M. 3d Light Dragoons left their encampment at Khoonda Ghat, on the morning of the 20th inst., crossing the Sutlej to a new camp about three miles from the right bank of the river, making the force on the other side, one of Dragoons, two of Lt Cavy (5th and 8th,) two Troops of H.A (LANE'S and WARNER'S), and the 12th Irreg. Cavalry; and an advance movement was to be made towards Kussoor as soon as the whole force at Ferozepoor may be in sufficient strength to keep up the communication. Some fatality would certainly seem to hang over Col. ECKFORD'S Brigade. At a late hour last night we received intimation that, in consequence of the near approach of CHUTTUR SINGH, whose advance guard had, according to authentic information, arrived close to Wuzeerabad,* Sir FRED. CURRIE had deemed it expedient to call for reinforcements from Ferozepoor, and had communicated his wishes by an extraordinary express that reached Ferozepoor on the morning of the 21st inst. It was *believed* there the whole of the Cavalry and Horse Artillery across the river would push on at once, and *known* that Col. GODBY'S Brigade, consisting of the 2d Europeans, and the 56th and 70th Regts. N. I., were immediately under orders to cross (they were to march from Ferozepoor last Monday morning,) while a messenger was sent off to Mundote, to recall Brigadier ECKFORD! Fortunately H. M. 9th Lancers, and the whole of the Meerut Horse Artillery, with a Light Field Battery, reached the station on the morning of the 21st, so that the place of the troops supposed to have been moved forward could be immediately supplied."

It now became known that a vast army was about to assemble at Lahore under the immediate command of Lord GOUGH in person. It was to consist of five European regiments, (5000), with sixteen corps of native infantry, (12,000,) six regiments of cavalry (3000), nine troops of horse artillery, five field batteries, or in all about 20,000 men with 80 pieces of ordnance: it was afterwards raised to some 24,000, with above 100 mortars, howitzers, and guns. The destination of the troops under CURETON and ECKFORD was now wholly altered,—the latter was recalled when some marches on his way,—and Lahore instead of Mooltan named as the place of rendezvous for the vast force just assembling. Thither they accordingly proceeded without delay, followed at intervals by the other detachments of the army. A bridge of boats had by this time been constructed over the river Ravee close to Lahore, which after its completion was, strange to tell, left almost wholly unprotected a small detachment of Seikhs of size sufficient to provoke, but not to ward off, attack, being all that was left in charge. Accordingly on the evening of the 23rd Oct. a party of some 200 or 300 marauders attacked and defeated the Durbar guard at the futher end of the bridge, seizing on fifteen or twenty light field pieces (zumboorucks,) and setting fire to the bridge. Three of the boats were burnt, and serious mischief might have followed but for the prompt arrival of a party from the 14th dragoons. The accident having been repaired, and due precautions taken, Brigadier GODBY'S brigade crossed on the 28th, and encamped about a quarter of a mile beyond the river in a fine open plain with a clear space in front. It consisted of LANE'S troop of horse artillery, the 8th light cavalry, the 2nd Eur. L. I., and 70th N. I. An alarm was given a few hours after they had encamped that the enemy were at hand. Cavalry were sent out to scour the country, but no one was found—the report was groundless. The camp was directed to be entrenched, and all due precautions against surprise ordered to be taken: two horse artillery guns, a troop of cavalry, and a company of European and another of native infantry, were desired to be held at all times in readiness to move out at the shortest notice. On the 2nd November the mounted forces under the immediate command of Brigadier General CURETON crossed the

* This report, so far as CHUTTUR SINGH was concerned, turned out inaccurate.

bridge and encamped at Shadaree. They consisted of a troop of European and another of native horse artillery, the 3rd dragoons, the 5th and 8th light cavalry (the latter had crossed with Colonel GODBY on the 26th Oct.), and the 12th irregular horse. On the following day, 3rd Nov., ECKFORD's brigade, which had been thrice under orders for Mooltan, and thrice had been recalled, crossed and encamped in the neighbourhood of the rest. It consisted of a light field battery, the 1st company 6th battalion artillery, and the 31st and 56th N. I. The whole force thus within the week assembled beyond the Ravee amounted to 7000 men, consisting of one light field battery, three troops of horse artillery, of which one was European, or 400 altogether, with 24 guns; one regiment of dragoons, 500, and another expected, 1000 in all; two regiments of regular and one of irregular cavalry, 1500; with 1000 European and 3000 native infantry. The whole of the troops enumerated had been pushed forward from Ferozepore, where the strength of the garrison was brought up by advances from behind. The Lahore garrison of 8000 or 10,000 men was not included in the "Army of the Punjaub," but maintained its position as formerly. There were already, therefore—including Brigadier WHEELER's force, and the Mooltan army previously treated of—very nearly 36,000 regular troops within the dominions of DHULLEEP SINGH with about as many auxiliaries forming the force under EDWARDES and CORTLANDT and the Daudpootras at Mooltan, the Mahomedan (3000) troops at Peshawur, and the contingent (5000) of GOOLAUB SINGH,—without taking any account of those of the Durbar. On the 3rd Nov. the army, now commanded by Brig. Genl. CURETON, received orders to advance in the direction of Wuzeerabad, ECKFORD's brigade alone remaining to guard the bridge. The 14th dragoons joined them, and the whole force rested the first day at Baolee, fourteen miles from their previous position. On the 4th they had a march to Goojranwallah of twenty miles, over a dry, barren, sandy country. On the way at a distance they saw the appearance of a body of men, which they supposed to be the enemy, and immediately gave chase. For five miles some 2000 mounted troops were seen at a gallop or hard trot across the country: when it turned out that it was a portion of the friendly troops under Lieutenant NICHOLSON on their way towards Ramnuggur that had been mistaken for insurgents. On the 5th, the tidings of the fall of Peshawur reached them. They pushed on to Dadun-Singka-Killah, betwixt Wuzzeerabad and Ramnuggur, sixteen miles from each, and there awaited some way from the Chenaub the arrival of reinforcements. They had in the course of their advance experienced no molestation, and seen no enemy, the villages appearing for the most part deserted. On the 9th, Genl. CURETON changed ground to make way for ECKFORD's brigade, expected on the following day, as well as with a view of keeping a fine open plain in front for the reception of the enemy in case they thought fit to advance. On the 11th, Brigadier-General CAMPBELL arrived from Lahore, bringing with him the 36th and 46th N. I. He had just been appointed to the command of the 4th division of the Army of the Punjaub, to consist of WHEELER's brigade, now also ordered up, with two regiments under Col. HOGGAN. As senior officer with the force he immediately took command, Brigadier CURETON falling back on a division. Brigadier POPE was rapidly advancing with a large addition to the mounted portion of the force, consisting of three troops of horse artillery, H. M. 9th Lancers, nearly 700 strong, with the 1st and 6th light cavalry, or above 1800 in all. They crossed the Ravee on the 12th, and reached camp without accident or molestation on the 13th. The Commander-in-Chief himself arrived at Ferozepore on the 5th, and, after three days' stay, started for Lahore, where he arrived on the 13th, and encamped at Anarkullee, leaving the 5th and 6th brigades, commanded by Colonels MOUNTAIN and PENNYCUICK, at Meean Meer. He had been visited by the MAHARAJAH and chief men of the Durbar, but excused himself from detention on the score of haste. He crossed the Ravee on the 16th, and moved on Pind-Dad-ka kote on the 17th: thence entering the Rechna Doab, he took command in person. He reached the Chenaub on the 21st. He was accompanied by the pontoon train, and followed by the heavy guns.

On the 12th, Brigadier WHEELER's force, 4000 strong, now the 2nd brigade of the 4th division of the Army of the Punjaub, crossed the Ravee at Buttnee Ghaut on the direct road from Battala and Emeenabad. The Brigade proceeded without interruption or annoyance, and reached General CAMPBELL's camp on the 18th.

On the 15th, the brigade of Colonel PENNYCUICK, consisting of H. M. 24th, and the 22d and 25th N. I., crossed the Ravee,* with Major-General Sir J. THACKWELL, and the head quarters of the third division of the Army of the Punjaub. On the 16th, the head-quarters of the second division followed, under Major-General Sir W. R GILBERT, with Colonel MOUNTAIN's brigade consisting of H. M. 29th, with the 13th and 30th N. I.

The Grand Convoy left Ferozepore on the 15th: it was escorted by the 3rd and 9th irregular cavalry, and 15th and 69th N. I. With these were two 24-pounders, eight 18-pounders, two 8-inch howitzers, with a number of lesser mortars and 9 and 6-pounder guns. Three elephants were harnessed to each of the heavy guns, and did their work to admiration. There were about eight hundred bullock carts loaded with ammunition, a hundred rounds being allowed to each gun, with a vast quantity to spare. The keep of the elephants with the force cost about £13 a month each, horses about £3-10, camels and bullocks about £2

Meanwhile Gen. CAMPBELL, abundantly reinforced with all kinds of troops, on the approach of the Commander-in-Chief with head quarters changed his camp on the 17th, moving from Dadun-Singh-ka-Killah down the river to Allipore, a village within eight miles of Ramnuggur, at which latter place the enemy were still said to be in force. General CURETON had been fired upon on the 16th on reconnoitring Allipore, which was said to be occupied by a strong body of Seikhs: the dragoons were ordered out, and a conflict was expected, when it was found that during the night the enemy had found it convenient to decamp. A heavy fire of artillery was at the same time heard beyond the river, the cause of which was not known. On the morning of the 19th, General CAMPBELL, accompanied by two light guns, a squadron of H. M.'s 14th dragoons, and another of the 5th light cavalry, proceeded on a reconnoitring expedition in the direction of Ramnuggur, passing to the left of Allipore. The Brigades of POPE and WHEELER had both joined: those of PEENYCUICK and MOUNTAIN, with the Commander-in-Chief, were close at hand. His Excellency having taken the command in person on crossing the Ravee, forbade all attempts to bring on an engagement with the enemy till he arrived in camp.*

The Commander-in-Chief joined the Army of the Chenaub on the 21st of Nov. —the force immediately under him amounting to 22,000 men with very nearly 100 guns.† The enemy at this time were posted on the opposite bank of the river, which was commanded by a concealed Seikh battery of twenty-eight guns. They had a few days before been joined by the Bunnoo insurgents, which brought up their strength to about 30,000 men, with thirty-six guns: an island in the middle of the stream was occupied by a detachment of the insurgents, while a strong body of them, amounting to about 4000, mostly cavalry, were in or around Ramnuggur, a large town some miles to the left and front of our camp. Early on the morning of the 22nd, a detachment consisting of H. M.'s 3rd and 14th regiments of Light

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* The following was the force then in the field:—

Horse Artillery.—3rd troop 1st brigade, 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th troops 2nd, and 1st and 2nd troops 3rd brigade.

Foot Artillery.—Nos. 5, 6, 10, and 17 light field batteries; 1st, 2nd, and 4th Companies 4th, 4th company 6th, and 1st company 7th, battalions.

European Dragoons—3rd, 9th (lancers,) and 14th.

Native Regular Cavalry—1st, 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th.

Native Irregular Cavalry—3rd, 7th, 9th, and 12th.

European Infantry—H. M.'s 24th, 29th, and 61st foot and 2nd European L. I.

Native Infantry.—3rd, 13th, 15th, 20th, 22nd, 25th, 30th, 31st, 36th, 45th, 47th, 52nd, 56th, 69th, and 70th.

† Subjoined is an abstract of the force at this time engaged in the Punjaub, with the Reserve ordered to assemble at Sirhind. From this it will appear that we had at this moment 44,000 British troops within the Country of the Five Rivers,—or nearly as many as Her Majesty can command within the Four Seas of Britain. Of these above 12,000 were European regulars. We had nearly 100 pieces of ordnance with the Commander-in-Chief, and about as many at Mooltan

Drag.; the 5th and 8th regiments Light Cavalry, and 12th Irregular Cavalry; two troops of Horse Arty. (DUNCAN'S and WARNER'S); two Field Batteries (AUSTIN'S and DAWES'S;) and two Brigades of Infantry, those of Brigadiers GODBY (2nd Eur. Regt., and 70th N. I.,) and HOGGAN (H. M.'s 61st Foot, 36th and 46th N. I.,) were ordered to proceed on reconnoisance. It was broad daylight when they reached Ramnuggur, where they were halted about a mile from the river until arrangements could be made for an advance towards its banks. The artillery, supported by H. M.'s 3rd dragoons, were extended in front, and the batteries of the enemy, strongly posted on the further bank of the river, opened so soon as they got within range. The main body kept out of their reach. The 14th dragoons were first posted behind a strong fortified enclosure, and so remained for above an hour while the firing was in progress. The artillery seemed to have been imprudently pushed on in order to reach the enemy, who were now crossing up to the waist in the river, and the Seikh fire became so hot that they were compelled to withdraw, leaving a gun fast in the sand and some tumbrils behind them. The Seikhs, who had for a time been dispirited, shortly afterwards re crossed, and were seen carrying away the gun as a trophy—a considerable party having once more crossed the river. The cavalry had been pushed on, and were now posted in an open plain, behind a clump of trees, within range of the enemy's guns. After having remained in this new position for a couple of hours, orders were received from the Commander-in-Chief to attack the Seikhs the moment an opportunity presented itself. About two o'clock a body of them, said to have been about 4000 strong, were seen on the ground occupied by our artillery during the morning. An A. D. C. from the Commander-in-Chief rode up and reiterated the orders his excellency had shortly before given in person. Colonel CURETON, as cautious as he was brave, was averse to any movement which must draw the whole weight of the Seikh artillery on the troops as they advanced, accompanied as it must be by heavy loss, followed by no results worthy of the slightest risk. The order having been given, something required to be done, and HAVELOCK and his troopers were impatient to rush on the foe. A body of the enemy at last appeared, which CURETON said *might* be attacked; but no sooner were the cavalry on their way than it was seen that they had taken the wrong direction, and were about to throw themselves on a dangerous position and a force far too strong for them, and CURETON exclaimed "that is not the body I want," and galloped off to recall them. The 3rd and 14th dragoons, the 5th and 8th light cavalry, and HOLMES' irregular horse, having been put in motion, the moment they shewed themselves beyond the trees, moving along parallel to the Seikh batteries, a furious and destructive cannonade was opened on them. The cavalry were now halted for a moment, and ordered to form squadrons and charge. The enemy were ex-

—a force, in fact, which, if only tolerably handled, might have met the most powerful enemy Asia contained without alarm; but which, when under the Commander-in-Chief of India, was checked, foiled, or thwarted, at every turn! So has it been with Lord Gough in every one of his Eastern campaigns—a General only through the force of the poetic fancies of the despatch-writers.

RETURN OF ALL THE TROOPS NOW IN THE FIELD IN THE PUNJAUB AND AT MOOLTAN, INCLUDING THE RESERVE AT SIRHIND.

Grand Army.	Men.
Pioneers.—1st, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th, companies	400
Artillery, Horse.—1st, 2nd, 3rd, (European) and 4th (Native) troops 2nd brigade, and 1st and 2nd troops (European) 3rd brigade;—in all 36 guns	480
Artillery, Foot.—1st and 3rd companies 1st battalion (European); 1st, 2nd, and 4th, companies 4th battalion (European); 1st company 6th battalion (European); and 2nd and 3rd companies 7th battalion (Native)	640
Dragoons.—H. M.'s 3rd, 9th, and 14th	1,500
Cavalry, Regular.—1st, 5th, 6th, and 8th	1,800
Cavalry, Irregular.—3rd, 9th, 11th, and 12th	1,800
Infantry, European.—H. M.'s 24th, 29th, and 61st foot, and 2nd European L. I.	3,200
Infantry, Native.—13th, 15th, 20th, 22nd, 25th, 30th, 31st, 36th, 45th, 46th, 52nd, 56th, 69th, and 70th	11,200
Total	21,920

pected every moment to give way as our troops came thundering on, but not a man of them flinched, and, after for an instant receiving us, they opened with the utmost coolness to the right and left, and let us enter their ranks, wheeling on us as we passed, and cutting the men down from behind. The dragoons now found themselves on the verge of a deep watercourse, filled with matchlock-men, and exposed to the fire of the batteries. The 3rd dragoons and irregulars were halted: Colonel HAVELOCK with the 14th dashed headlong at the foe, and drove them before them across the first branch of the stream. It was in vain to press matters—they had already gone much too far, and the troops were withdrawn. In this most bootless and needless affray, Colonel CURETON, the first cavalry officer in India, was shot through the heart, in endeavouring to recall his men. Colonel HAVELOCK, one of the most chivalrous officers in the service, had his right hand severely wounded, and his left leg and left arm nearly cut off, and was left dead upon the field. Eleven of his men fell fighting by his side—their bodies were found a fortnight after decapitated. Captain FITZGERALD was mortally wounded, and soon after died of his wounds. The officers wounded were—Captain GALL, 14th dragoons, lost the use of a hand; Lieut. MCMAHON, ditto, severely in the neck; Lieut. SCUDAMORE and Cornet CHETWYND, ditto; Captains CAUTLEY and BARNES, 3rd dragoons; Lieutenant-Colonel ALEXANDER, 5th cavalry, lost his right arm; Captain RYLEY, ditto; Ensign G. N. HARDINGE, 45th N. I., A. D. C. to Lord GOUGH; Captain NEWBOLD, commissariat; Captain HOLMES, 12th irregular cavalry, shot through the chest. About a hundred men were either killed or wounded. Of course in the despatches this sad reverse was proclaimed a triumph! The troops now returned broken and dispirited to camp, wondering why they should ever have been desired to leave it for any other end than a reconnoisance. We had not been at all prepared for battle: our heavy artillery, though close at hand, had not yet arrived in camp: had we fought and won, we were not

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Lahore Force.

Artillery, Horse.—3rd troop 3rd brigade (European)—Campbell's	80
Artillery, Foot.—3rd company 6th battalion (European)—Barr's	80
Cavalry, Irregular.—14th	450
Infantry, European.—H. M.'s 53rd foot	900
Infantry, Native.—18th, 37th, 50th, 53rd, and 73rd	4,000
Total	5,510

Wheeler's Force.

Artillery, Horse.—3rd troop 1st brigade (European) (Swinley's)	80
Artillery, Foot.—1st company 3rd battalion (Burnett's) and 4 guns of 2nd company 2nd battalion (Sissmore's) (all Europeans)	130
Cavalry, Regular.—7th	450
Cavalry, Irregular.—2nd and 15th	900
Infantry.—3rd	800
Total	2,360

Reserve Force.

Infantry, European.—H. M.'s 16th Royal Irish	1,000
Infantry, Native.—17th, 19th, 58th, 60th, 61st, and 62nd	4,800
Total	5,800

Mooltan Force—Bengal Division.

Pioneers.—2nd and 3rd companies	160
Sappers and Miners.—1st, 2nd, and 3rd companies	240
Artillery, Horse.—4th troop 1st, and 4th troop 3rd, brigades	160
Artillery, Foot.—2nd company 2nd battalion (European), 3rd and 4th companies 3rd, (European), and 6th company 7th battalion (Native)	320
Cavalry, Regular.—11th	450
Cavalry, Irregular.—7th	450
Infantry, European.—H. M.'s 10th and 32nd foot	1,800
Infantry, Native.—8th, 49th, 51st, 52nd, and 72nd	4,000
Total	7,580

in a condition to have improved our victory. With all our troops collected we ventured not ten days afterwards to think of storming the Seikh camp till its occupants had withdrawn. The loss of two such officers as CURETON and HAVELOCK was a severe blow, when it was considered that they had been exposed and had fallen to no purpose. But this was nothing to the impression created by the bad luck attending them at the very outset of the campaign, and the depressing effect of perceiving that the very first movement make by the Chief whose presence in the field had always been the harbinger of frightful carnage, was a stupendous and inexplicable blunder.*

Mooltan Force—Bombay Division.

Sappers and Miners—1st and 4th companies	200
Artillery, Horse—3rd troop	80
Artillery, Foot—3rd company 1st battalion (European), 4th company 2nd battalion (European), 1st and 2nd companies 4th battalion (Native)	320
Cavalry, Regular.—1st Lancers	450
Cavalry, Irregular—Detachment Jacob's Scinde Horse	500
Infantry, European.—H. M.'s 60th Rifles, and 1st Fusiliers	2,000
Infantry, Native.—3rd, 4th, 9th, and 19th	3,200
Total	6,750
Grand Total	49,200

GENERAL CLASSIFICATION OF EACH ARM.

Pioneers	560
Sappers and Miners	410
Artillery, Horse	880
Artillery, Foot	1,490
Cavalry, Regular	4,050
Cavalry, Irregular	4,100
Infantry, European	8,000
Infantry, Native	28,600
Total	49,020

ABSTRACT.

	Eur.	Nat.	Total.
Grand Army (Lord Gough)	5580	15440	21020
Lahore Force (Brigadier General Wheeler)	980	4530	5510
Wheeler's Force (Brigadier Wheeler)	210	2150	2360
Reserve Force (General Sir D. Hill)	1000	4800	5800
Bengal Mooltan Force (General Whish)	2120	5460	7580
Bombay Mooltan Force (Brigadier Dundas)	2240	4510	6750
Grand Total	12130	36890	49020

* The following details of the troops at Ramnuggur was published on the 26th of November:—it seemed intended to remind them how little they had to fear if numbers could give courage—we believe that the intimation that Lord Gough had rejoined the Supreme Council and General LITTLER taken command, would have been worth a reinforcement of ten thousand men. It was afterwards said that, when the Seikhs had at Chillianwalla nearly made a prisoner of the Comander-in-Chief, they were ordered on no account to capture or injure him if either could be avoided: nothing so much tended to advance the Seikh cause as his continuance in command.

Head Quarters, Camp Ramnuggur, 26th Nov. 1848.

The following revised detail of the troops forming the Army of the Punjaub is published for general information:—

DETAIL.

ARTILLERY.—Divisional Staff.—Brigadier General J. Tennant, commanding, Lieutenant H. A. Olpherts, Aide-de-Camp, Lieutenant and Brevet Captain J. Abercrombie, Deputy Assistant Adjutant General, Captain C. Hogge, Commissary of Ordnance, Lieutenant F. Christie, Deputy Commissary of Ordnance,* Lieutenant H. Tombs, Deputy Assistant Quarter Master General

BRIGADE STAFF.—Brigadier G. Brooke, C. B., Lieutenant C. V. Cox, Major of Brigade.

Horse Artillery.—Head Quarters, and 4th troop 1st brigade, Head Quarters and 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th troops 2d brigade, Head Quarters 1st, 2d and 4th troops 3d brigade.

BRIGADE STAFF.—Brigadier E. Huthwaite, C. B., Lieutenant E. Kaye, Major of Brigade.

Foot Artillery.—1st company 1st battalion (No. 10 H. F. battery), 3rd company 1st battalion (No. 17 H. F. battery) 2d company 2d battalion (reserve),* 3d and 4th companies 3d battalion, (reserve),* Head Quarters and 1st, 2d and 4th companies 4th battalion (reserve), 1st company 6th battalion, (reserve,) 2d company 7th battalion (No. 6 H. F. battery,) 3d company 7th battalion (No. 5 H. F. battery,) 6th company 7th battalion, (reserve)*

ENGINEERS.—Divisional Staff.—Brigadier J. Cheape, C. B., Chief Engineer,* 1st Lieutenant A. G. Goodwyn, Adjutant engineer department, army head quarters, 1st Lieutenant P. Garforth, Major of Brigade.*

After so rough a handling the Commander-in Chief resolved to await the arrival of the last detachment of his heavy guns and mortars On the 30th of Nov. they arrived in camp, and the force was now complete. The enemy were supposed to number about 20,000 men,—with 10,000 or 15,000 of an armed rabble not deserving

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Brigade Staff.—Major G. B. Tremenheere. Brevet Major R. Napier,* Captain J Glasfurd, Captain J R Oldfield, Captain J. Anderson, Captain B. W. Goldie, Captains W Abercombie,* J. R Western,* 1st Lieutenants and Brevet Captains H Siddons,* A Cunningham, 1st Lieutenants C B Young, R B. Smith, H. Yule, T. S Irwin, W. E. Morton J H. Maxwell * W. A. Crommelin, G W. W Fulton,* A Taylor * 2d Lieutenants A. Fraser,* C. S. Paton * T. G. Glover,* H. Hyde,* S Young,* F. C Grindall,* W. W H Greathed,* W. R. Oliphant,* H. W. Gulliver,* C Pollard,* C T Stewart,* F. R Maunsell *

Sappers and Pioneers.—1st company sappers,* 2d company sappers,* 3d company sappers * 1st company pioneers,* 2d company pioneers,* 3d company pioneers,* 4th company pioneers, 5th company pioneers, 6th company pioneers, 7th company pioneers.

Cavalry.—Divisional Staff:—Major-General Sir J Thackwell, K. C. B and K. H, commanding, Lieutenant E. J. Thackwell, Aid-de-Camp, Captain E. Pratt, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Lieutenant T. T Tucker, Deputy Assistant Quarter-Master General

Brigade Staff:—1st Brigade.—Brigadier M. White, C. B.—Captain G Cautley, Major of Brigade.

Corps.—Her Majesty's 3rd light dragoons Her Majesty's 14th light dragoons, 5th regiment of light cavalry, 8th regiment of light cavalry.

2nd Brigade.—Brigadier A. Pope, C. B.—Lieutenant and Brevet Captain S. F. Macmullen, Major of Brigade.

Corps.—Her Majesty's 9th lancers,—1st regiment of light cavalry,—6th regiment of light cavalry.

3d Brigade.—Brigadier H F. Salter *—Lieutenant E C Warner, Major of Brigade.

Corps.—11th regiment of light cavalry *—7th irregular cavalry.*—11th irregular cavalry

4th (Irregular) Brigade.—Brigadier J. B. Hearsey.—Lieutenant N. B. Chamberlain, Major of Brigade.

Corps.—3d Irregular cavalry—9th irregular cavalry—12th irregular cavalry.

Infantry.—Divisional Staff.—First Division:—Major-General W S Whish, C. B, commanding *—Lieutenant A. Need, Aide-de-Camp *—Captain J C Kennedy, extra Aide-de-Camp,* Lieutenant and Brevet Captain G P. Whish, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General.*—Brevet Major A. M. Becher, Assistant Quarter-Master-General.*

Brigade Staff:—1st Brigade.—Brigadier A Hervey *—Capt. E Wiggens, Major of Brigade.*

Corps.—Her Majesty's 10th foot.*—19th regiment of native infantry.*—72d regiment of native infantry.*

2nd Brigade.—Brigadier F. Markham *—Captain A. L. Balfour, Major of Brigade *

Corps.—Her Majesty's 32nd foot.*—49th regiment of native infantry *—51st regiment of native infantry *

Second Division.—Major-General Sir W. R Gilbert, K. C. B, commanding.—Lieutenant C. R. Colt Aide-de-Camp.—Brevet-Major C Chester, Assistant Adjutant-General.—Lieutenant A. S. Galloway, Deputy Assistant Quarter-Master-General.

Brigade Staff:—3rd Brigade.—Brigadier J. Eckford.—Captain W. C. Campbell, Major of Brigade.

Corps.—31st regiment of native infantry—56th regiment of native infantry.—73rd regiment of native infantry

4th Brigade.—Brigadier C Godby, C. B.—Captain M. E. Sherwill, Major of Brigade.

Corps.—2d European regiment.—45th regiment of native infantry.—70th regiment of native infantry

5th Brigade.—Brigadier A S H Mountain, C. B.—Lieut C E. Macdonnell, Major of Brigade.

Corps.—Her Majesty's 29th foot.—13th regiment of native infantry.—33rd regiment of native infantry.—52nd regiment of native infantry †

Third Division.—Divisional Staff.—Brigadier-General C Campbell, C. B, commanding.—Captain E. Haythorne, aide-de-camp.—Brevet-Major G C Ponsonby, Assistant Adjutant-General.—Ensign H R Garden, Deputy Assistant Quarter Master General.

Brigade Staff.—6th Brigade.—Brigadier J. Pennycuick, C. B. and K. H.—Captain C. R. Harris, Major of Brigade

Corps.—Her Majesty's 24th foot.—22nd regiment of native infantry.—35th regiment of native infantry

7th Brigade.—Brigadier N. Penny, C. B.—Lieut. and brevet-Captain J. D. McPherson, Major of Brigade

Corps.—15th regiment of native infantry—20th regiment of native infantry.—69th regiment of native infantry.

8th Brigade.—Brigadier J. Hoggan.—Captain D C Keiller, Major of Brigade

Corps.—Her Majesty's 61st foot.—36th regiment of native infantry.—46th regiment of native infantry

Army Commissariat Department.—Joint Deputy Comy.-General Captain J Ramsay, general charge in the field.

Assistant Commissary-Generals.—Captain G. Newbolt, Field Office of Accounts; Brevet-Major G. Thompson; Captain F Lloyd, Mooltan Field Force.

* Serving with the 1st division, Mooltan.

† N. B The 52nd native infantry will continue attached to the 2nd brigade 1st division until further orders.

the name of soldiers,—or about 2000 fewer than those opposed to them * On the 1st December, a detachment of 7000 strong, under Generals THACKWELL and CAMPBELL, was directed to cross the river about three miles below Wuzeerabad, several miles higher up than the enemy's camp. It consisted of three troops of horse and one co. foot artillery, the 3rd dragoons, a wing of the 5th with the whole of the 8th regular and 12th irregular cavalry, the 24th and 61st foot, and the 22nd, 31st, 36th, 46th, and 56th, N. I. The detachment was provided with food for three days—they were without tents or means of shelter. Misfortunes seem to have attended them from the first: they meant to move an hour after midnight, but the troops lost their way in camp, and did not start till 3. From the brokenness and irregularity of the roads, eight hours were occupied in covering thirteen miles of ground, and they did not reach their destination till 11. On reaching the ford at which they were intended to have been crossed, it was found by the General to be so difficult and dangerous that he considered it better to move on to Wuzeerabad, twelve miles higher up, and twenty-five from where they had started. Three hours were expended in surveying the ford just referred to, within a few miles of which the whole army had for nearly six weeks been encamped † : the second ford was not reached till after sunset!! Here sixteen boats had been secured by the enterprise of Lieutenant NICHOLSON, and a passage was effected on the evening of the 1st and morning of the 2nd. It had been agreed that so soon as the flanking detachment was known to be in motion down the further bank of the river, operations should commence on this. In the Commander-in-Chief's camp the whole of the 1st December was spent in anxious expectation of hearing the guns of the advancing party, who it was conjectured must have got astray. The 9th Queen's lancers, with the 1st and 6th light cavalry, were ordered to move out at daybreak to be in readiness to co-operate with those on the other side: as day drew on they returned to camp. On the morning of the 2nd, so soon as the Commander-in-Chief became aware that the troops had crossed, our batteries near Ramnuggur

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Deputy Assistant Commissary-Generals.—Captain G. B. Reddie—Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel J. G. W. Curtis, executive charge Commander-in-Chief's camp; Brevet-Major E. R. Mainwaring, 6th Infantry Brigade; Captain J. G. Gerrard Commissariat Depot, Ramnuggur.

Sub Assistant Commissary-Generals.—Captain T. F. Hobday, field depot; Lieut. C. C Robertson, Mooltan field force; Brevet-Captain J. Turner, ditto; Lieut. F. C Tombs, ditto; Lieut. W. Williamson, 4th infantry brigade; Lieut. E. J. Simpson, 1st cavalry brigade

Officiating Sub-Assistant Commissary-Generals.—Lieutenant H Ramsay, field depot; Lieut. J. E. Gastrell, 2nd cavalry brigade; Brevet-Captain T C Birch, artillery division; Captain S. B. Faddy, 3rd infantry brigade; Brevet-Captain G Gordon, 5th ditto; Lieutenant W D Bishop, 7th ditto; Lieutenant H C James, 8th ditto; Lieutenant J I. Willis, Captain J. Cooper, Mooltan field force

Pay Master, Captain C. Campbell.
In charge military chest, Mooltan field force, Captain C. Cheape.
Deputy Judge Advocate General, Lieutenant E. B. Johnson.
Baggage Master, Ensign (unattached) S Douglas.
Superintending Surgeon, Senior Surgeon C Renny.
Ditto ditto, Mooltan field force, Surgeon T. E. Dempster.
Field Surgeon, Surgeon J. McRae
Medical Store-keeper, Assistant Surgeon F. Douglas, M D.
Ditto ditto, Mooltan field force, ditto J. C. Graham, M. D.
Post Master, Captain J Lang.
Ditto, Mooltan field force, Lieutenant F. M. Martin.
Chaplain, The Reverend W. J Whiting, A. M.
Provost Marshals, Sergeant Major S Budd; Sergeant Major W. Hills, Mooltan field force.
Deputy Provost Marshal, Acting Quarter Master Sergeant R. Crux, Artillery division.
Ditto ditto, Sergeant J. McEwen, Cavalry division.
Ditto ditto, Sergeant R. Gibbins, 2nd infantry division.
Ditto ditto, Sergeant M. Foley, 3rd infantry division.
Assistant Baggage Master, Lance Troop Sergeant Major J. Ryall.

By order of the Right Honble the Commander-in-Chief.
PAT. GRANT, Lieutenant Colonel, Adjutant General of the Army.

* As these statements might otherwise seem incredible, we beg to state that they are taken almost verbatim from the despatch.

† One almost blushes to record the enormous exaggerations contained in the despatches. The Commander-in-Chief sets down camp-followers as soldiers, and mentions more fighting men than exist in the Punjaub! If unlike Napoleon in other warlike matters, we copy him closely enough in the Gazette of despatches.

opened on the enemy, but so well were the Seikhs protected that, though our practice was excellent, we were unable to silence their guns. In the course of the day the enemy found it convenient to retire about two miles from the bank of the river; and there being now no opposition, the Commander-in-Chief in the course of the night pushed forward his guns to the bank: a sufficient number of the enemy appears, however, to have remained over the 3rd to prevent us from making any attempt to cross,—the cannonade and demonstration being continued. It now appeared that our purposes had been penetrated. Our attempts to effect a surprise were frustrated by the blundering at the ford. The troops were so knocked up with a twenty-two miles' march and exposure during the whole of the day, with nearly as much before them, that they were compelled to rest as soon as they had crossed. They were without tents or covering, and remained where they had encamped till 2 P. M. on the 2nd, when, after having dined, they advanced in order of battle, marching till dusk. GODBY's brigade had been directed to cross six miles above the Commander-in-Chief's camp so soon as he could co-operate with the troops on the other side,—THACKWELL being directed to halt and cover their passage. *The Pontoons were found useless*, and the Seikhs, who had all this time been preparing to receive us, re-assured by the halt about four miles from their camp, moved out to the attack. THACKWELL had proposed commencing operations at 11 A. M., but finding a detachment of Seikhs had been sent to prevent GODBY from crossing, he required to send out a party to their assistance, and so became entangled with his own reinforcements. About two o'clock a smart cannonade was commenced by the enemy, when an attempt was made to turn both our flanks by clouds of cavalry. All this while we reserved our fire, the guns of the enemy being still a mile off. The Seikhs now advanced, when such a storm of shot and shell was opened upon them that they were compelled to retire. Day was too far gone, and our troops too much exhausted to follow up their advantage, and in the course of the night the enemy decamped and marched away. According to the despatch, they fled precipitately,—a statement hard to reconcile with the fact that they were able to carry along with them twenty-eight heavy guns, and the whole of their camp and equipments. The enemy's force in all is said to have amounted to betwixt 30 and 40,000 men, of whom not more than 18,000 could be called regular soldiers. The number of the enemy killed during the engagement became apparent to the British Division when they advanced on the morning of the 4th, the dead lying about in heaps, and the country teeming with wounded. We are assured that if the Genl.'s hands had not been tied, a dash of the cavalry must have secured the whole of the enemy's guns, but why Sir JOSEPH should have allowed instructions, which probably did not contemplate any counter-movement of the Seikhs, to trammel his proceedings, when he had such a brilliant opportunity of seizing the Sikh guns, is beyond our comprehension. The whole of the Sikh columns had disappeared by sunset, and the British force took up their quarters for the night where they were. Capt. WARNER's troop of horse artillery lost to the extent of 4 men killed and seven wounded. Captain AUSTIN was so severely wounded in the arm that it was supposed he would have to suffer amputation; Lieut. WATSON, of the artillery, was slightly wounded; Lieutenant GARSTIN, 36th Native Infantry, wounded; and Lieutenant GIBBINS, of the 3rd irregulars, struck by a spent ball. The 8th cavalry had one man killed and several wounded, and several of their horses killed and wounded. The enemy, while partly engaged on the right flank of General THACKWELL, also made an attempt with artillery and zumbooruks on the left, which it took four of Captain WARNER's guns full an hour to repel. SHERE SINGH having made a masterly and able retreat, took up a strong post on the banks of the JHELUM some fourteen miles in advance of Sir JOSEPH THACKWELL's camp, twenty-four miles from his original position on the Chenaub. Here he fortified himself, having an entrenched camp on both sides of the river. His force was now believed to amount to about 30,000 in all, of whom one-third at least were a mere rabble of armed marauders. The Commander-in-Chief had 23,000 first rate troops, and nearly 100 guns around him. On the morning of the 4th, when the Seikhs were all known to have withdrawn, the Commander-in-Chief

crossed the river without opposition. The 9th lancers and 14th dragoons, under Major-Genl. GILBERT, with the cavalry under Sir J. THACKWELL, were immediately sent in pursuit—the only apprehension now being, amidst such dreadful blundering, that the pursuers would allow themselves to be entrapped by the enemy. The manœuvre ultimately resorted to, shewed with how small a measure of tactical skill victory without loss might have been ensured: but for an uninterrupted series of blunders, THACKWELL might have got into the rear of the enemy on the 2nd with his force still fresh, while GODBY and PENNY were on their flanks, and our heavy batteries commanded their position in front. They might in this case have been cannonaded on all sides, and almost extinguished on the spot: as it was, they fell back on a position carefully prepared beforehand for their reception, and bid us defiance behind their trenches. A permanent Bridge of Boats was next ordered to be constructed across the Chenaub. On the 5th, the bodies of Colonel HAVELOCK and the brave men who fell around him were brought in and interred. From the 7th to the 13th there were several falls of rain, and on this latter day a violent thunder-storm occurred. On the 8th a part of the infantry were moved up to the cavalry camp, two or three miles in advance. A fine plain extended itself in front of the new position: this was commanded by a large mound close to the camp, and again by a chain of villages in the rear, with GODBY'S brigade and twenty guns in rear of the villages. On the 10th, four 8-inch howitzers and two 18-pr. guns crossed the river in boats, and proceeded towards THACKWELL'S camp. By the 11th, the original camp of the Commander-in-Chief at Ramnuggur was all but deserted, there being only one brigade of infantry with GILBERT'S division, the head-quarter camp, six heavy guns and the park. On the 13th, these last were crossed over, and Lord GOUGH intended joining General THACKWELL about the 20th. The field hospital remained at Ramnuggur with a couple of corps for its protection: it was ordered to be entrenched. Major LAWRENCE was at this time transferred from the camp of CHUTTUR SINGH to that of SHERE SINGH: in the latter he met with the utmost respect and attention. From the commencement of the war, indeed, the Seikhs took the utmost care not to aggravate hostilities by cruelty or irritation—they treated all those with kindness who fell into their hands, and permitted them all, with the exception of the LAWRENCE party, to return to their friends. Attock at length fell into the hands of the enemy. The fidelity of the Affghans had been tried too far: when they found a British Army of 24,000 men afraid apparently to move beyond its lines, while their own countrymen were approaching from the western capital, and treason was gaining strength on every side, they threw open the gates and admitted the men of Cabool. The captors are said to have plundered the town and violated the women, and otherwise behaved themselves disgracefully. Lieutenant HERBERT became a prisoner in the hands of CHUTTUR SINGH. Captain ABBOTT alone now remained at large. DOST MAHOMED continued on the banks of the Indus, watching the progress of events. It had all along been given out that no operation of magnitude would be attempted until tidings were received of the capture of Mooltan, though it was generally understood that so soon as MOOLRAJ was disposed of, SHERE SINGH would be attacked. Lord GOUGH had given orders for the advance of half the Bombay Column and the whole of the Bengal portion of the besieging force so soon as their object was gained. It is not quite apparent whether he meant to move so soon as these were ready to start, or to wait for their arrival—their upward march must have occupied three weeks, and the probability is, that the Commander-in-Chief meant to be guided by the chapter of accidents. A fortnight longer had been spent in the operations of the siege than had been looked for, and our troops were becoming impatient for employment: the enemy were waxing audacious in impunity. Colonel Sir HENRY LAWRENCE, who had reached Bombay on the 8th December, pushed up the Indus with his accustomed celerity of movement: he joined General WHISH on the 27th, and remained at Mooltan till the capture of the city on the 21 January. He then hastened upwards to Ferozepore, which he reached on the 6th, and was the first to convey to

the Governor-General at Mukkoo the same evening the tidings of our first success. After a few hours' stay with Lord DALHOUSIE, arranging the measures to be next pursued, he pushed on to Lahore, where he arrived on the morning of the 9th and attended the Durbar. From this he the same evening started for the camp of the Commander-in-Chief, which he reached the next night. Major MACKESON, agent for the Governor-General, now informed the Commander-in-Chief that tidings had just reached him of the fall of Attock, and that it would be of the utmost importance to endeavour to strike a decisive blow with as little delay as possible. Lord GOUGH fully concurring in this view, and feeling himself perfectly able, as he states in his despatch, to overthrow the Seikhs, commenced immediately to make arrangements for an advance. These having been completed on the 11th, on the 12th the troops marched out about seven in the morning from their old camp at Lussoorie, and reached a place called Dinghee, in the direction of the Jhelum, about two o'clock in the afternoon. They here encamped nearly in the same order as at Lussoorie, only that GILBERT'S division, with the irregular cavalry, were in the rear. They started again next morning at seven, accompanied by all their baggage and other establishments, and marched till noon through a tolerably open country, a patch of brushwood or a few scattered trees here and there making their appearance. They were at this time within sight of the enemy, and about three miles from the front of his position. The baggage was directed to halt, while the troops formed line and advanced in order of battle. The right consisted of POPE'S cavalry brigade, three troops of horse artillery, and a light field battery, and the division of infantry under Brigadier General CAMPBELL. They now came upon one of the outposts of the enemy. Ten of the heavy guns, with the horse artillery batteries, were ordered to the front; when, after a few rounds, the enemy retired leaving their tents standing, but carrying with them everything besides. General THACKWELL, with three troops of horse artillery and WHITE'S cavalry brigade, had been directed to attack them on the opposite side. The column once more advanced moving over the ground just before occupied by the enemy. The Seikh army lay extended from Moong to Russool, stretching a mile from north-east to south-west, some distance from the Jhelum which covered their rear, and over which a well-constructed bridge had been thrown. Their magazines were at Russool, where the spur extending from the mountains terminated, and near to which there was a narrow pass or gorge, well suited for a safe and easy retreat in case of reverse befalling them. Their flanks being both admirably secured, their centre was protected by field-works, which again were covered by jungly and uneven ground. The original intention of the Commander-in-Chief had been to direct all his strength against Russool, when not only would their position have been turned, but their stores sacrificed and their retreat in this direction cut off. It was now past one o'clock, —the troops had been for six hours under arms without rest or refreshment, and it was resolved to encamp for the night, as it was clearly impossible to attack the enemy with advantage or drive him from his position before dark. While the colour-men were marking out the camp, which was, it seems, to have been pitched within range of the enemy's batteries, a fire of artillery was opened, and some of the shot fell near the Commander-in-Chief. He now all at once, and without the slightest consultation with any one, changed his plan entirely, and determined to leave Russool alone and to endeavour to penetrate the centre of the enemy's position near Moong. Without knowing anything of the nature of the ground, or the position or strength of SHEER SINGH, and in the knowledge that it would be impossible before dark to force his entrenchments or compel him to retire, and before any arrangement for concerted action or mutual support could be made, at two o'clock in the afternoon the order was given for a general attack under Lord GOUGH'S own immediate directions. A cannonade, which is said to have lasted from one to two hours, was first opened, but so well protected were the guns of the enemy which replied to ours, that we had scarcely anything but the smoke and flash to guide the direction of our fire. The division under CAMPBELL, in making a flank movement, exposed their own flank to a murderous cross fire from the Seikh

batteries. The infantry were supported on the right and left by cavalry under WHITE and POPE—the intervals were occupied by artillery. HOGGAN'S brigade carried everything before it, storming the batteries and spiking the guns of the enemy. The brigade of PENNYCUICK, consisting of H. M. 24th, and the 25th and 45th N. I., had been pushed considerably ahead and were unsupported by artillery. They suffered tremendously as they pushed on, and were at length ordered to charge up hill against a battery of the enemy. The acclivity was steep, and the distance long; and before they reached the summit they were blown and exhausted. They nevertheless stormed the battery at the bayonet's point, and were busy spiking the guns when a regiment of Seikh infantry, hid in the jungle close by, opened so terrific a fire upon them that they were compelled rapidly to retire. They suffered greatly in their retreat. When they reached the main body it was found that out of 800 who had gone into action, H. M. 24th had lost 460, of whom nearly one half were slain—the Brigadier commanding, the Lieutenant Colonel, the Major, four Captains, and seven Subalterns, were left dead—ten were disabled, twenty-four officers in all belonging to a gallant corps having been rendered unserviceable—a casualty list long without precedent in our wars.* The native regiments suffered but little less severely. As soon as the brigades just named were found to be engaged, the brigade under Colonel MOUNTAIN was sent against what was understood to be the enemy's centre. They pushed on fearlessly through a brushwood jungle in the face of a storm of round shot, grape, and musketry, which swept them away by dozens. They stormed and spiked a battery of the Seikh guns, when they found the

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* The following letter from the *London Times* gives what seems an authentic account of the fall of Colonel PENNYCUICK—it is, we believe, by General Sir W. NAPIER:—

THE LATE BRIGADIER PENNYCUICK.—To the Editor of the Times.—Sir,—When an angry sense of disaster in war gets possession of the public mind, the army engaged is judged in mass, and condemned as a defeated body, particular instances of virtue being disregarded in the general feeling of mortification. This is not good. Heroism comes out clearer when fortune bears hardly than when she is favourable; it is then of a sublimer nature, more chastened and purified for immortality. Permit me, then, through your journal, to give the world a statement of the touching circumstances attending the deaths of these intrepid soldiers, Brigadier Pennycuick and his self-devoted heroic son, in the recent battle on the Jhelum, introducing it by a rapid sketch of the General's previous services. He entered the army in 1807. His first campaign was in Java in 1811; and he was wounded severely, having fought so well as to draw forth the public approbation of Sir Samuel Auchmuty and the celebrated Col. Gillespie. In 1811 he was at the storming of Djokja Kerta. In 1813, having command of a small detachment, he displayed such skill and courage, defeating an immense body of insurgents, that he obtained the thanks of the Commander-in-Chief and the Government of Java, and the public approbation of the Governor General of India, Lord Hastings—no mean judge of military merit. He fought again, with distinction, in 1814, at the assault of Boni, in the Celebes; and during 1815 and 1826 he served against the Burmese. In 1839 he fought under Sir J. Keane and Brigadier Wiltshire, at the storming of Ghuznee and of Khelat, and was the foremost man to enter the last-named fortress. In 1841 he marched out of Aden at the head of 600 men, and gave a signal overthrow to the Arabs. In 1843 he served under Sir Charles Napier in Scinde, and gained the esteem of that General. In 1848 he commanded a brigade in the Punjaub, under Lord Gough, and on the 13th of January, 1849, he died in battle, thus closing a career full of honour with a soldier's death; and upon his yet warm body fell his young son, a boy worthy of such a father. Let the moving, the painful, but glorious story be simply told. The 24th Regiment marched on the 13th of January against the Sikh army; it was unsupported, exposed to the full sweep of Sikh battteries, and to the deadly play of their destructive musketry. More than one-half the regiment went down in ten minutes; the remainder, still stricken by the artillery, assailed by thousands of infantry, and menaced by swarms of cavalry, could no longer keep their ground. The elder Pennycuick had fallen, and two soldiers attempted to carry him off while still breathing, but the Sikhs pressed them so closely that, unable to contend, they dropped their honourable burden and drew back. The gallant boy, the son of the noble dead, only 17 years old now first aware of his misfortune, sprang forward, sword in hand, bestrode his father's body for a moment, and then fell across it, a corpse! Such, Sir, is the simple tale of the deaths of that brave old man and his boy; and if it is not sufficient to obtain for them the honest fame for which they fought so well—if it does not swell the hearts and moisten the eyes of their countrymen, I know not why generous impulses are component parts of human nature. And the grief-stricken widow—the bereaved mother! Is she single in her sorrows? Alas! no. The widow of the brave Cureton, she also has lost her son as well as her husband on those fatal fields of the Punjaub Consolation to them must come from God; but the glory of a nation's gratitude and praise should illumine the graves of their husbands and children.

March, 1849. W. N.

enemy's infantry close upon them on every side, pouring in vollies of musketry in front, rear, and flank: so being isolated and unsupported, they were compelled to retire. Sir W. GILBERT and Brigadier GODBY had meanwhile now proceeded from the extreme right of the infantry line. They pushed their way through dense jungles till they reached the Seikh infantry, when they found themselves outflanked to the right and left by masses of the enemy,—a murderous fire of musketry having been opened on them from every side. They gallantly charged, but finding all their exertions in vain, they were compelled to retire, when DAWES's battery came to their rescue. The enemy were now attacked and beaten, and several of their guns taken and spiked. On the left, the enemy were pushing forward boldly and successfully, when a squadron of the 3rd dragoons and the 5th light cavalry were ordered by THACKWELL to charge them. On approaching the foe, the native cavalry broke and fled: the dragoons, unsupported as they were, charged through the Seikhs, and were for a time lost sight of. It was feared they must have fallen into an ambush and been annihilated, and terrible was the anxiety and suspense; when they quickly re appeared in rear of the enemy, and were seen gallantly cutting their way back. Captain UNETT, the heroic officer who led them, was severely wounded,—Lieutenant STISTED slightly; and forty-six men were found to have been killed and wounded in the charge. The 5th cavalry, said to have thus forgotten themselves, have for long been considered one of the finest regiments in the Bengal army: a portion of them distinguished themselves at Cabool; another portion formed a part of the heroic garrison at Jellalabad. On the right, the cavalry under Brigadier POPE, consisting of H. M.'s 9th Lancers, the 14th dragoons, and the 1st and 6th light cavalry, got entangled amongst the jungle and exposed to a terrific fire from the enemy. Seeing a battery, which it was impossible to charge with any hope of success, being opened against them, POPE gave the other to retire,—when the retreat seems to have become something like a flight; the cavalry getting into disorder, and becoming jammed amongst the horse artillery upon whom they fell back. The guns were compelled to suspend their fire, as the retiring corps were for a time between them and the enemy: the tumbrils were upset, the gunners ridden down, so that there was no time to limber up and retire, when the enemy were upon them and six of them were captured—two were afterwards recovered. Nor did the troopers stop till nearly half a mile in the rear, having ridden over not only the artillery but the wounded men in the field hospital. No support had been provided, and during a campaign of incessant blundering this seemed the saddest blunder of them all. Major CHRISTIE, who commanded the artillery, was here mortally wounded, Lieutenant MANSON was killed on the spot, Lieutenant DUNDAS was wounded, and Captain HUISH only escaped by Major STEUART of the 14th dragoons shooting a Seikh who had his sword raised to cut him down. Major ERKINS, deputy adjutant-general, was killed while endeavouring to rally the retreating corps. The cavalry and horse artillery pushed their way through the jungle on the left till warned by a cannonade of their vicinnage to the enemy. The guns under Colonel BRIND returned the fire so warmly as speedily to silence their opponents. But there was no infantry to support them, and their success was of no avail: they were compelled to withdraw, for fear of being surrounded. Darkness at length separated the combatants. Our troops were withdrawn from the jungle, and bivouacked for the night under arms,—the troopers sleeping by their horses, the artillerymen by their guns. The night was cutting cold, with a chilling drizzling rain. When morning broke, we first became aware of how small had been our advantage—how fearful had been the sacrifice at which it had been won. We had captured twelve guns and lost four.

The Seikhs meanwhile had withdrawn in the most perfect order. The guns which had been spiked by us were carried off by them,—the enemy in search for trophies having murdered all the wounded men they met in with, and stripped and mutilated the dead! Our loss had amounted to no less than 2,300 killed and wounded, of whom nearly 800 were slain. Twenty-six officers were killed on the

spot or died of their wounds —sixty six were wounded. Her Majesty's 24th and the 30th and 56th Native Infantry, were so entirely disabled that they were compelled to be disjoined from the force and sent back to Ramnuggur and Lahore, troops from these stations moving up to take their place. Her Majesty's 24th and the 26th Native Infantry lost both their Colours, the 25th and 30th Native Infantry lost each one: the 5th Cavalry lost the Colour they won on the field of Maharajpore. The 70th Native Infantry captured one of the enemy's Standards. Thus terminated the disastrous day at Chillianwalla,—which, under the name of Victory, filled more hearts with shame and grief than any day since the destruction of the Garrison of Cabool in the Tezeen Pass in January 1842. The Sikhs were now able to carry out all their plans, while in every one of ours we were foiled. They so successfully retired from Moong to the quarter on which they were now encamped, that the parties who went in quest of the wounded next day could scarcely discover their position. They now took up their quarters on the heights of Russool, watching the movements of Lord GOUGH's army at the distance of five miles, and in daily hopes of receiving an accession to their strength. CHUTTUR SINGH had not as yet joined them. Some 10,000 Affghans were to the north of them, watching the turn of events. The Commander-in-Chief seemed to have been at first utterly at a loss what was to be done: at the first an immediate retreat on Dinghee was spoken of, but as this would have been too unmistakeable an acknowledgment of unsuccess, he resolved at length to entrench himself where he was, calling up WHEELER'S brigade of about 5000 men, engaged in quelling disturbances in the Baree Doab, and summoning the 13th and 22nd from Ramnuggur and H. M.'s 53rd from Lahore: sending back, in exchange, the regiments that were disabled. Lord GOUGH having ordered that no letters should be sent from camp until the despatches were in readiness, wrote a brief notification to the Governor-General,* stating that the troops under SHERE SINGH had been entirely defeated and driven back at every point with the loss of many of their guns, and had relinquished all the positions in which they had been entrenched. The ruse was of no avail. For three days silence was successfully maintained, when such a host of letters from officers with the force appeared in all the newspapers, bearing so obviously the stamp of the highest authority, that the despatches when they did arrive took a very secondary place in the rank of documents. The baggage-cattle had been under their burthens for more than thirty

* We give this below as a curiosity in its way: it must have travelled at a very leisurely pace, the distance betwixt the camps of the Commander-in-Chief and Governor-General being under 120 miles, the time occupied by the express, supposing it to have been dispatched on the 14th, the day after the battle, being three days! The ruse of stopping the mails from camp has proved a complete failure, though it so far succeeded that for three days there were no tidings from the army.

NOTIFICATION.—FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.

CAMP, MEERKOO, THE 17TH JANUARY, 1849.

1. The Governor-General has much satisfaction in intimating to the President in Council, and notifying for public information, that he has this day received a demi official letter from His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, in which His Excellency announces to the Governor-General, that on the afternoon of the 13th instant the Troops under his command attacked and entirely defeated the Sikh Army under Rajah Shere Sing, in its position near the river Jhelum.

2. The action was obstinately and severely contested. The enemy was in great force, and occupied very strong positions. They were driven back at every point with the loss of many of their Guns, and had, by the latest intelligence, relinquished all the positions in which they had been entrenched.

3. The details of these operations have not yet reached the Governor-General; as soon as they are received they will be published for general information.

4. The Governor-General directs that a Salute of 21 Guns be fired at every principal Station of the Army, as soon as this Notification shall be received.

By order of the Right Honorable the Governor-General of India. (Signed) H. M. ELLIOT,

Secretary to the Government of India, with the Governor-General.

hours before sufficient leisure was found to attend to them. On the 17th, two European Lancers who had been taken prisoners were returned to us; and the Seikh General of Artillery, with his two sons, and a couple of other men of note, surrendered on the 19th. Lord GIFFORD and Sir H. LAWRENCE quitted the camp of Lord GOUGH for that of the Governor-General on the 18th. The Seikhs are said to have lost 3000 men killed, and 4000 wounded,—our casualties being rather more than a third of this.*

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* The following lists of casualties are compiled from the Official Despatches :—

KILLED.

1—Brig. J Pennycuick, C B & K H, H M.'s 24th Foot.
2 Lieut.-Col. R Brookes, H M.'s 24th Foot.
3—Major C Ekins, Deputy-Adjutant-Genl.
4—Major H W Harris, H M.'s 24th Foot.
5—Captain W H Ross, 30th N I.
6—Captain C Lee, H M 24th Foot.
7—Captain R W Travers, H M 24th Foot.
8—Captain C R Harris, H M 24th Foot, Major of Brigade.
9—Captain J S Shore, H. M. 24th Foot.
10—Lieutenant G Phillips, H M 24th Foot.
11—Lieutenant O B Payne, H M 24th Foot.
12—Lieutenant J A Woodgate, H M 24th Foot.
13—Lieutenant W Phillips, H M 24th Foot.
14—Lieutenant A J Cureton, H M 's 14th Drs.
15—Lieutenant A Money, 25th N I.
16—Lieutenant A M Shepherd 6th Cavalry.
17—Lieutenant J A Manson, Artillery.
18—Lieutenant W W Warde, 56th N I.
19—Ensign F W Robinson, 56th N I.
20—Ensign A C de Morel, 30th N I.
21—Ensign H C B Collis, H M 24th Foot.
22—Ensign A Pennycuick H. M. 24th Foot.

WOUNDED.

1—Brigadier-General C Campbell, slightly.
2—Brigadier A Pope, c B, commanding 2nd cav. brig, severely. (*since dead.*) [rously.
3—Major H Paynter, H M.'s 24th Foot, dange-
4—Major M E Loftie, 30th N I, severely.
5—Major C Steuart, H M 14th Drag. [tusion.
6—Major M Smith H M 29th Foot, slight con-
7—Major D Bamfield, 56th N I, very severely (*since dead.*)
8—Brevet Major E Christie, 3rd troop 2d brig. H A, very dangerously (*since dead.*)
9—Brevet Major H T Tucker, Assistant-Adjutant-General, contusion.
10—Capt. W J E Boys, 6th Cavalry.
11—Capt. W C Campbell, 30th N I, slightly.
12—Capt. J Morrieson, 30th N I, slightly.
13—Capt R S Ewart, 30th N I, slightly.
14—Capt. W R Dunmore, 31st N I, slightly.
15—Capt. F A Carleton, 36th N I, severely.
16—Capt. R Haldane, 45th N I, severely (*since dead.*
17—Capt. J A James, 69th N I, severely.
18—Capt. C F Fenwick, 30th N I, very severely.
19—Capt. M Dawes, 2d Co. 1st Batt. Arty., slightly.
20—Capt W G Brown, HM's 24th Foot, slightly.
21—Capt. L H Bazalgette, H M's 24th Foot, severely.
22—Capt. W Unett, H M's 3rd Drag., severely.
23—Capt. J Massey, H M 61st Foot, severely.
24—Brevet Captain A B Morris, orig. Major of Brigade, severely [dangerously.
25—Lieutenant G E D Williams H M 24th Foot,
26—Lieutenant A J Macpherson, H M 24th Foot, severely. [severely.
27—Lieutenant R A Croker, H M 24th Foot,
28—Lieutenant and Adjt. W Hartshorn H M's 24th Foot, slightly. [severely.
29—Lieutenant J B Thelwall, H M 24th Foot,
30—Lieutenant C F Berry, H M 24th Foot, slightly. [foot, slightly.
31—Lieutenant Archer, (H M 96th Foot) 24th
32—Lieutenant The Hon'ble H M Monckton, H M 29th Foot, severely. [severely.
33—Lieutenant A G C Sutherland, 25th N I,
34—Lieutenant H R Grindlay, 6th Cavalry.
35—Lieutenant A P C Elliott, 5th cav., severely.
36—Lieutenant R Christie, 5th Cavalry, dangerously.
37—Lieutenant F V R Jervis, 56th N I, severely.
38—Lieutenant L B Jones, 56th N I, severely.
39—Lieutenant F Jeune, 25th N I, slightly.
40—Lieutenant and Adjutant C S Weston, 36th N I, severely.
41—Lieutenant H Swinhoe, 30th N I, severely.
42—Lieutenant J S Paton, 14th N I, Assistant-Quartermaster-General, severely.
43—Lieutenant G G Anderson, 15th N I, severely.
44—Lieutenant H R Shawe, 15th N I, slightly.
45—Lieutenant and Qr. Mr. A N Thompson, 36th N I (*since dead.*)
46—Lieutenant W C Gott, 56th N I, slightly.
47—Lieutenant J H Bacon, 56th N I, slightly.
48—Lieutenant J W Delamain, 56th N I, severely (lost an arm)
49—Lieutenant J Nisbett, 69th N I severely.
50—Lieutenant J D Magnay, 36th N I, slightly.
51—Lieutenant T H Stisted, H M's 3rd Drag.
52—Lieutenant C S Dundas, 3rd Co 1st Batt. Arty, severely. [very severely.
53—Lieutenant H T Metge, H M 29th Foot,
54—Lieutenant M R Nightingale, 2nd Europeans, very severely.
55—Lieutenant J Bleaymire, 2nd Eur., slightly.
56—Lieutenant J Palmer, 45th N I, severely.
57—Ensign J Nagle, H M 61st Foot, severely.
58—Ensign C J Godby, 36th N I, dangerously.
59—Ensign J C Wood, 30th N I, very severely.
60—Ensign W T Leicester, 30th N I, very severely.
61—Ensign T Pierce, 30th N I, slightly.
62—Ensign F J S Bagshaw, 36th N I, severely.
63—Ensign W L Trotter, 45th N I, badly.
64—Ensign M H Combe, 45th N I, slightly.
65—Ensign G H Neville, H M's 29th Foot, slightly. [slightly.
66—Ensign J H H Parks, H M 61st Foot,
67—Ensign W Ellice, 15th N I, slightly.

(Signed) P. GRANT, Lieut.-Colonel, Adjutant General of the Army.
Adjutant-General's Office, Head Quarters, Camp Chillianwalla, 17th Jan., 1849.

SECTION VI.

MOOLTAN.—Arrival of the Bombay Column.—Resumption of Operations.—Outworks carried —Breach established—Town stormed.—Fort still holds out.—Commencement of approaches. —Resolve to mine the counterscarp.—Mine blown in—Breach established—MOOLRAJ surrenders.—Conduct of troops —WHISH's army moves up the Chenaub—Arrive at Ramnuggur and join Lord GOUGH.

WE must now once more shift the scene of our narrative from the camp of the Commander-in-Chief to that of General WHISH, and trace the operations of the besieging army before Mooltan till the capture of the city and occupation of the

CORPS AND DEPARTMENTS.	KILLED.			WOUNDED.			MISSING.		
	Eur. & Native Officers.	Men.	Horses.	Eur. & Native Officers.	Men.	Horses.	Eur. & Native Officers.	Men.	Horses.
General Staff..	1	..	1	2	..	..	...	..	..
ARTY. DIVISION.—*Horse Arty. Brigade*									
1st troop 2nd Brigade H. A	..	6	..	..	5	2	...	1	22
2nd troop 2nd Brigade H. A.. ..	..	..	..	..	5	...	...	...	2
3rd troop 2d Brigade H. A...	...	7	...	1	6	..	..	7	31
4th troop 2d Brigade H. A...	1	1	6	..	2	2	...	...	4
1st troop 3rd Brigade H A...	..	1	1	...	1	1	..	..	..
2nd troop 3rd Brigade H. A..	...	..	...	..	1	..	...	..	...
Foot Artillery Brigade.									
1st Company 1st Batt., No. 10 Battery..	...	..	..	...	..	1	...	...	..
3rd Company 1st Batt , No. 17 Battery.	...	..	3	2	3	...	..	..	1
1st Company 4th Battalion..	..	1	..	...	7	..	..	..	..
2d Company 4th Battalion..	..	1	..	..	3	..	..	..	..
4th Company 4th Battalion.. .. .	...	..	..	..	1	...	..	..	..
6th Co. 7th Batt No. 5 Battery.. ..	..	...	1	..	5	1	..	..	1
Park Establishment..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	
Engineer Department—6th Company Pioneers..	...	..	..	...	3	...	...	..	...
CAVALRY DIVISION—*1st Brigade.*									
H. M.'s 3rd Light Dragoons..	.	24	26	2	14	14	..	..	..
H. M.'s 14th Dragoons.	1	3	2	..	14	2	.	2	4
6th Regiment Light Cavalry..	..	6	7	3	13	7	..	..	..
8th Regiment Light Cavalry..	..	1	...	.	2	1	...	...	2
2nd Brigade.									
Brigade Staff..	..	..	..	1	...	..	...	..	..
H. M.'s 9th Lancers..	..	4	..	....	8	5	..	..	4
1st Regiment Light Cavalry...	..	4	1	1	4	7	..	..	3
6th Regiment Light Cavalry..	3	4	2	2	8	...	..	..	6
2D INFANTRY DIVISION—*3rd Brigade*									
2nd European Regiment..	..	6	..	2	59	...	..	..	..
31st Regt N. I..	..	3	...	1	14	...	..	...	..
45th Regt N. I..	..	17	..	5	51	...	..	3	..
70th Regt N. I..	2	3	..	..	20	..	..	...	..
4th Brigade.									
H. M.'s 29th Foot..	...	31	..	4	203	..	...	3	...
30th Regt N. I..	3	64	..	18	200	..	...	...	..
56th Regt N. I..	6	39	..	12	227	..	..	33	..
3RD INFANTRY DIVISION.									
Divisional and Brigade Staff..	2	..	...	2	...	...	..	...	..
5th Brigade.									
H. M.'s 24th Foot..	11	193	2	10	266	..	..	38	...
25th Regt N. I..	7	93	..	5	87	1	...	12	..
6th Brigade.									
15th Regiment N I..	..	8	..	4	44	..	..	..	..
69th Regiment N. I..	..	4	..	2	61	..	...	..	...
7th Brigade.									
H. M.'s 61st Foot..	...	11	..	3	100	..	..	...	..
36th Regiment N. I..	1	27	..	8	69	..	...	..	...
49th Regiment N. I..	..	3	..	3	48	..	...	..	..
Total....	38*	561	52	94†	1557	44	...	104	80

* This includes 16 Native Officers. † 27 Native Officers are included here.

Fort. and so on till they join Head Quarters and become included in the Grand Army of the Punjaub. The reader may be reminded that at the close of the last chapter on Mooltan affairs (page 23) it was stated that on the 18th December a portion of the detachment under Major HALLETT, consisting of the 3d Native Infantry and TURNBULL'S Battery, had marched down to the banks of the Ravee to escort the Bombay siege guns into camp. The train, consisting of thirty pieces of ordnance of the largest size, had been sent from Sukkur up the river in boats, and landed within seven miles of General WHISH'S camp. A part of the Column under Colonel Dundas had crossed the Sutlej fifty miles from Mooltan on the 15th —the rest followed without delay, and the whole joined head-quarters on the 21st. On Christmas morning the right brigade of the Bengal cavalry and horse artillery moved to their new position at Seetul-ke-Maree, the remainder of the column following a few hours afterwards. The new camp was fully occupied by sunset—the sappers and park in the centre, the infantry on either side, the cavalry and horse artillery on the extreme right. The order taken by the Bombay was similar to that of the Bengal column, the cavalry covering their left. The two were placed in line on the 26th. EDWARDES'S troops moved some way backwards to form a depot. They ultimately took up the ground formerly occupied by SHERE SINGH and his men just before their departure. The enemy were seen to watch our movements carefully, and from the clouds of dust observed to rise, they were supposed to be moving in force in the vicinity of their outworks. The Bengal troops took up nearly the same line of ground as they had occupied on the occasion of the former attack : the Bombay column held the position formerly maintained by EDWARDES, LAKE, and CORTLANDT. On the morning of the 27th, orders were issued for the formation of four columns of attack. The whole were under arms by 11 A. M., and moved out about 1 P. M. A wing of the 8th, with the 49th and 51st, were left to protect the Bengal camp : the other wing of the 8th, and three companies of Her Majesty's 10th foot, formed the reserve. The attack was opened by EDWARDES and his levies, who attacked the bridge at Sheesh Muhul with a view of distracting the attention of the enemy. The first division, under Col. YOUNG, consisted of a portion of Her Majesty's 10th and the 52d Native Infantry. They moved to the right, making for the brick kiln facing the eastern angle of the fort : this they captured with but little resistance. Colonel NASH'S column (the 2nd) consisted of three companies of Her Majesty's 32nd foot, six of the 72nd Native Infantry, with four horse artillery guns and two 18-pr. howitzers. They moved straight to the attack of the suburbs on the right of the Mundee Ava mound facing the Khoonie bastion of the fort. The 60th rifles having taken the mound, the column pushed on through the suburbs, when Captain KING of the 32nd with his company succeeded in getting within a hundred yards of the Delhi Gate, which post he held. The Bombay column (3rd) immediately under Colonel DUNDAS, consisted of five companies of the fusiliers and four of the 4th native rifles, with BAILEY'S battery ; while the left division, under Colonel CAPON, consisted of five companies of the 60th rifles, five of the 3rd native infantry, with TURNBULL'S battery. The whole force pushed on at once. The column under Colonel YOUNG formed line under a building and some huge mounds of earth near the eedgah (place of prayer) beyond Ram Teerut, and then advanced steadily under a somewhat heavy cannonade from the fort. Various straggling posts having been forced, they soon reached some large unfinished trenches, the occupants of which took to their heels. They then swept past the mounds on which were some newly-constructed batteries but no guns, and so on to the splendid mausoleum of Dewan SAWUN MULL, the late ruler, and father of MOOLRAJ. This post, which might easily have been maintained against large odds, had been left undefended, and a party of our troops took possession of it without resistance and were left in charge. The blue mosque was next taken possession of: it was found full of old men, mostly faqueers (begging priests,) and of women. They were permitted to remain unharmed in the asylum they had chosen. A few armed men who were seen making their escape from the shops and houses adjoining, were pursued as far as safety allowed,—some of the more impetuous following

them to the edge of the glacis. The guns were now brought up, and a selection made of the posts which had been taken. A clump of trees was for a time occupied by thirty or forty men only, and the enemy observing this, made a dash on it and for a moment were successful : they then pushed on and endeavoured to close with our troops, when they were driven off by a bayonet charge, and the garden re-occupied. The Bombay troops experienced but little resistance until they approached some enclosures, where a sharp fire assailed them and some casualties occurred. Some of the Fusiliers engaged hand-to-hand with the enemy, and the sword-cuts with which the dead and wounded were gashed showed how close and severe had been the encounter. They speedily got a battery into play, while the infantry pushed on and captured the enclosures, taking possession of a garden which was well defended. The right meanwhile made their way towards the mound of Mundee Ava, which they captured, 600 yards from the city. The whole of the columns were equally successful, and as evening closed in, we had everywhere approached close to the walls of the town. Batteries were now commenced—one on the right within 400 yards of the fort walls, another on the Mundee Ava Mound, a third close to the post occupied by Captain KING of the 32nd, and a fourth on the extreme left about a hundred yards from a large bastion in the city wall. The following were the casualties up to the evening of the 29th :—killed—Major JOHN GORDON, 60th rifles, Lieutenant E. YOUNGHUSBAND, 9th Bombay N. I. ; wounded—Lieutenant-Colonel NASH, 72nd N. I. ; Major CASE, 32nd foot ; Lieutenant H. A. PLAYFAIR, (died of his wounds,) 52nd N. I. ; Lieutenant HILL, Bombay Engineers, had his sword struck by a round shot and the hilt knocked into his groin ; Captain BAILEY, Bombay Artillery (arm lost—died of his wounds) ; Lieut BAUGH, 9th Bombay Native Infantry ; Lieutenant N. W. DYETT, 3rd Bombay Native Infantry, severely ; Surgeon J. P. MALCOLMSON, 3rd Bombay Native Infantry, slightly ; Lieut. FANNING, 9th N. I. ; Ensign NAPIER, 3rd Bo. N. I, slightly ; Lieutenants BROOKE, 60th Rifles, and STRAUBENZEE, 32nd foot ; Lieut. TYRWHITT, 51st N. I ; Lieut. ARMSTRONG, and Ensigns GILLON and MACDOUGAL, 72nd N. I.—H. M. 10th had three men killed and five or six wounded. The 52nd N. I. two or three killed and seventeen wounded. The Artillery at Ram Teerut had one killed and seven wounded out of twelve men. The 4th rifles had five killed and eighteen missing, of whom thirteen were supposed killed, and the remaining five were known to have been taken prisoners. The fusiliers had six killed and twenty wounded. The casualties in the 3rd Bombay N. I. are said to have been twenty, in the 9th and 19th N. I. two each. The troops bivouacked in the posts they had taken possession of, and were relieved next morning. The Bengal and Bombay mortar batteries were both at work by dawn. These and a few other batteries continued to play on the town throughout the whole of the 28th : the riflemen held the suburbs everywhere, and the day was chiefly spent in relieving and reposting troops and making arrangements for the attack of next day. Towards evening the vertical fire became tremendous. During the night of the 28th, we commenced shelling the city and fort from the mound and extreme right battery, firing a shell every ten minutes. On the 29th, the 18-pounders opened on the Delhi Gate, and next morning the heavy guns were actually breaching within eighty yards of the wall. The injury inflicted on the enemy must have been severe : repeatedly was the town seen to be on fire, and the masses of dust raised by the shells showed how fatal our mortar practice must have proved. Still the defence was most gallantly maintained : the guns of the insurgents were admirably directed—their fire continued unslackened. After four hours firing from the whole of the four batteries, a tremendous explosion occurred in the fort early in the forenoon, which must have spread devastation on every side : the grand magazine had blown up. A majestic column of dust rose slowly and perpendicularly : it then spread out like a gigantic tree, obscuring half the sky—a perfect shower of stones and sand covered the plain : the sound resembled the discharge of heavy ordnance close by—Sir HENRY LAWRENCE reached camp on the 28th, and the same day visited the different posts round the fort and town, in company with General WILSH and Major EDWARDES.—During the whole of the 30th and 31st the

fire continued incessant, the batteries of the Bengal column on the one side echoing those of the Bombay troops on the other. The walls were now tottering everywhere, but still no signs of a breach such as could be attempted with hope of success. Moolraj's guns slackened their fire for a little from time to time, but continued to be worked with wonderful activity and perseverance. Their fire was however not very destructive. On the 31st December the enemy, still undaunted, made a sortie from the city on the allied troops under Edwardes: they were met by a detachment headed by Colonel Sir H. Lawrence, and Mr. McMahon a volunteer, and driven back with heavy loss. About noon a tremendous conflagration burst out in the fort: it continued to rage all day with unabated fury, and when night set in it lighted up the firmament and landscape around. It proved to be the principal store of the besieged—£50,000 of grain were afterwards understood to have been destroyed, while vast quantities of oil and other combustibles added fury to the flames. The besiegers now carried on their murderous work by the light of the blazing citadel—yet the garrison stood all their sufferings and disasters boldly, and showed no symptom of pusillanimity or fear. The cavalry and horse artillery were now sent out to scour the environs, to prevent the egress of the enemy, and intercept the leaders who were reported to be desirous of making their escape. The exertions of the artillery continued uninterrupted throughout the day: the most experienced officers admitted that nothing could surpass in perfection the practice of both armies. Shells were in the course of the night thrown in threes and fours at a time: the spectacle presented was indescribably awful. An attack had been resolved upon for New-Year's-Day, but though the breaches were fast widening as the day advanced, none were considered practicable when night set in. An attack was, however, ordered to be made next morning, and a furious cannonade was maintained throughout the night. Early on the morning of the 2nd, accordingly, the Bengal column, consisting of H. M. 32nd, and the 49th and 72nd N. I., advanced on the breach near the Delhi Gate, the Bombay troops pushing on for a part where the wall had been knocked down on the opposite side. The former body on approaching experienced a fierce and determined resistance, and found the entrance impracticable, a large mass of wall remaining undestroyed. They retraced their steps accordingly, and made their way as speedily as possible to the other side of the town, in hopes of gaining admission: here they found that the Bombay troops had been able to enter. The Bombay column was led by Colonel Stalker. It consisted of the 1st Fusiliers, and the 3rd, 4th, (Rifles), and 19th N. I. They left their lines as storming parties about two, and having by three o'clock arrived in the neighbourhood of the breach, rested for a moment in the shelter of some old buildings to take breath for the trial which was to follow. The order was now given to advance, and the moment they shewed themselves clear of the shelter a tremendous fire was opened on them from the loopholes to the right and left from the work called the Kooni Boorj, and from the crest of the breach itself, which was crowded with armed men. The rush of the troops was irresistible—Captain Leith's company of the Fusiliers wheeled round like a wall, and the other companies in succession came in front and began the ascent. The native troops pressed side by side along with the Europeans. Captain Leith was the first man who appeared on the summit of the wall—a tremendous sword-cut lopped off his arm, and grazed his side, but failed to bring him to the ground: with his sword he cleaved the skulls of a couple of Seikhs who were assailing him, when he was rescued by his men. A fierce hand-to-hand encounter here ensued. It was however of short duration. Serjt Bennett, of the Bo. Fusiliers, sprang up to the summit of the wall, and waved the Colour which he carried, in evidence that the Town was won. A perfect storm of bullets for a time flew around him: the Colour was torn to tatters, and the staff almost cut in two: for an instant no one could reach him, but there he stood cheering his comrades to come on. There was no need of exhortations—onward they pressed, the enemy retiring doggedly before them, fighting as they withdrew. A Serjeant-Major of the same gallant corps had been the first who placed the British Colours on the walls of Seringapatam half a century ago. In the course of the night and of the

next day a number of explosions occurred, by which many lives were lost. A rough couch had been spread in the open air for Colonel STALKER, who preferred to walk about watching the state of affairs by the cool night air: he had scarcely withdrawn himself from his intended place of rest, when the couch and all its appurtenances and attendants were seen high in the air, a gunpowder store having exploded under them. On this occasion the following officers were wounded :—General Staff—Captain T. TAPP severely ; 60th Rifles—Major M. G. DENNIS ; 1st Fusiliers—Captain R. W. D. LEITH severely, Lieutenants E. DANSEY, W. GRAY severely, E. A. LAW severely, and W. M. MULES ; 3rd Bo. N. I.—Ensign SHAW ; 4th Bo. Rifles—Lieutenant T. S. WARDEN severely ; 19th Bo. N. I.—Ensign GORDON ; Lieutenant GARFORTH, Bengal Engineers ; and Lieutenant TAYLOR, H. M. 32nd foot. A single gate, and a part of the city, still remained in the hands of the enemy. During the night a mine was sprung on us, from which the Bombay troops suffered severely. Next morning the cannonade was renewed against the fort. At daybreak on the 3rd, Col. YOUNG, with three companies of H. M. 10th, made a dash at the Dowlut Gate : the men scrambled over by the help of ropes, and charged the enemy in the narrow streets and lanes : their success was complete. The total number of fighting men now believed to be in the fort was considerably under four thousand. The spoil from the town and neighbourhood began to be collected—anything like pillage was strictly prohibited,—though the prohibition was not so well attended to as might have been desired. Some native bankers were said to have offered £30,000 for the protection of their property, but the offer was declined. Some elephants, and a large number of baggage-cattle, were brought in. The frightful spectacles presented by the piles of dead scattered about through the town—the shivered limbs and mangled bodies, and the ghastly wounds of some still surviving—which our shells had occasioned, were awful to behold. It was found, moreover, that the capture of the City had in no way improved our prospects of getting into the Fort, which was nowhere stronger than on the side next the town. Siege operations, therefore, required once more to be commenced, and parallels were immediately begun to be constructed within 500 yards of the walls. MOOLRAJ plied his artillery as briskly, and offered as stout a resistance, as ever. Our batteries were once more opened with as much vigour and as little success as before—when it seemed as if the mud walls were incapable of being breached by any ordinary species of practice. A Scinde horseman who had once been in the Mooltan service pointed to a post within the town from which the fort was commanded : singular to say, no use was made of the information given for three weeks, when guns were got up and found to fire right in on the besieged. Mining was now determined to be attempted, and three shafts were accordingly begun to be run in the direction of the counterscarp, running from the bastion to near the Dowlut gate of the town. It was believed that the whole would be so shaken by the explosion that the establishment of a breach would be comparatively easy. The first thing, however, was, as far as practicable, to have the ditch filled up ; and the mines were exploded on the 18th under the crest of the glacis, by which the counterscarp was completely blown in. One of the most singular of all the circumstances connected with this most extraordinary siege was this—that up to the 15th January, or three weeks after the resumption of the most active operations, the town had never been invested. The horses and cattle of MOOLRAJ were seen daily passing out and in by a postern, and watering at a pool near our lines. By the same path, provisions of all kinds were taken in, and the enemy enjoyed as free an intercourse with their friends without as if there had been no hostilities in progress. On the 17th, the order was published prohibiting all ingress and egress to or from the fort. Deserters began once more to come into camp : they spoke of the determination of MOOLRAJ to defend himself to the last. Our heavy guns and howitzer batteries fired 8-inch shells, which buried themselves in the works and then exploded, doing the work of mines. The sap had by the morning of the 19th reached the edge of the ditch, and the shaft was commenced the same evening. The walls and bastions now began to look sorely shattered everywhere,—and no wonder, considering what they

had undergone. Ambassadors from the Fort had two or three times visited our Camp, on the part of MOOLRAJ, with proposals for a conditional surrender: on every occasion they were told that no terms would be granted, and that nothing but an unconditional surrender would be accepted of.

The counterscarp having been blown in, on the 18th January, tremendous salvos of artillery continued to be hurled against the works from a distance of some score of yards: while huge howitzers dashed shells bodily right into the walls; and these bursting after burying themselves deep amidst the brickwork or mud of which the defences were composed, acted like so many mines, tearing off vast fragments as they exploded. On the 20th, two practicable breaches had been established, and the storming parties had been told off. To the Bengallees that on the southern side was assigned, while the Bombay troops were to penetrate that on the north. The attack was to have been made at daybreak on the 21st, but was countermanded. On the 21st, the order was re-issued,—it was to be carried into effect on the following morning under the same arrangements as before. On the evening of that day a messenger was seen issuing from the gate, and making his way on foot to camp. He was taken to the General's tent, and after an interview of some duration returned on horseback. The garrison had agreed to an unconditional surrender,—General WHISH probably assuring them that their lives would be spared, though no pledge to this effect could be given. The troops were drawn up at daybreak on the 22nd: they formed two long lines extending from the Dowlut Gate. The street betwixt the living walls of armed men was about fifty feet in breadth. They waited some hours under heavy rain, on their guard in case of treachery or surprise; when about ten o'clock a messenger appeared, intimating that the garrison were at hand. First appeared about 200 ill-clothed miserable wretches, who seemed broken and dispirited; then followed about 3,500 hardy, trained, stern, and stalwart-looking men: they had defended the fort to the last, and abandoned it only when no longer tenable. They looked as if they would have fought to the death in the breaches if such had been the will of their Chief. They brought camels and horses, and large bundles of things, along with them. These, together with their arms, were placed in charge of the Prize Agents as they passed. At last came MOOLRAJ and his brethren and chiefs,—the last, as became him, in the retirement. He was gorgeously attired in silks and splendid arms, and rode a magnificent Arab steed, which bore no marks of suffering or privation, with a rich saddle-cloth of scarlet. No small curiosity was experienced to discover the appearance of one who had maintained a defence obstinate and protracted beyond any related in the annals of modern warfare. He but little exceeded the middle size; was powerfully but elegantly formed: his keen, dark, piercing, restless eyes, surveyed at a glance everything around. He neither wore the face of defiance or dejection, but moved along under the general gaze as one conscious of having bravely done his duty, and aware of being the object of universal regard. He was taken to the General's tent, where he gave up his sword: this is said to have been returned him. He was now placed in charge of Lieutenant HENRY, of the 19th Bombay N.I., who had quitted the personal staff of the Governor of Bombay to be present with his regiment at the scene of action. MOOLRAJ seems to have been actually adored by the people, and no stronger evidence of this attachment and fidelity can be given than that supplied by the fact that though for a fortnight his defence was known to be desperate—though hundreds were being slaughtered daily, and no result whatever could be looked for but death or captivity,—no one ever threatened to abandon him, or thought of betraying him. He was spoken of by all in terms of the highest respect and deepest attachment—as a man not more brave than he was generous and just. It now became necessary to separate him from his brethren and chiefs, and the separation is represented as having been most touching. There were eighteen of these of higher rank than the rest, who had been with him through all his adventures. They threw themselves at his feet, and wept sore as they were parted from him and might not hope to see his face any more. He was placed under a strong guard some distance from the town, in a fine country residence his father

had built. Writing materials were prohibited him, but every attention was shewn to his comfort in so far as this was compatible with his safety. He declined seeing his family—he had not beheld them for nearly a month before: they had been placed for safety in an excavation under ground, and he refused all intercourse with them, as the sight of his mother, wife, and children, he said, unmanned him, and disturbed him in the discharge of his duties. It was not considered safe to retain him longer than was indispensable in a neighbourhood where there were numberless dependents ready to incur any risk in attempting his rescue, and he was accordingly ordered to proceed with the force about to march up the line of the Chenaub in the direction of Ramnuggur, to turn off as they approached the road leading to Lahore for the camp of the Governor-General. Orders were now given to the troops to prepare for their upward march,—the 4th company 2d battalion artillery, 1st and 2d companies 4th battalion golundauze, No. 5 light field battery, the 1st lancers, the 4th company sappers and miners, the 4th and 9th Native Infantry, and a division of the baggage corps, to be left behind in charge of the fort,—the residue of the Bombay Column to march by the left bank of the Chenaub under Brigadier-General the Honorable H. DUNDAS the Bengal troops under Major-Gen. WHISH by the right. The wounded were put on board the Beas flat, to be towed by the steamers down the river, and thence proceed to Bombay. The battering train was sent into the fort, and the breaches were ordered to be built up. The troops now made their way in numbers into the fort, and a scene of plunder is said to have ensued in the last degree discreditable to the discipline of the Bengal army. The details given by our correspondents are too distressing to be dwelt upon. The fort was completely separated from the town It was surrounded by a regular glacis which instead of sloping away to a point, was cut off short, exhibiting a face of at least eighteen feet in height. At the base of the wall was a ditch twenty-five feet deep and forty wide: beyond this was the outer wall, fifty feet from the base of the ditch to the battlements. Within the fort, and on a considerable elevation, was the citadel, in itself of very great strength. The following letter from the *Delhi Gazette* gives the most graphic account we have seen of it:—

"FORT OF MOOLTAN, 25TH JAN., 1849.—There is so much duty for those left in the fort, that I have not been able to spare a moment for writing the promised details of the 'Lions,' &c., of the place. The day before yesterday Major WHEELER commenced his researches for the reputed wealth contained within these walls: he was accompanied on the occasion by an old bed ridden Mistree of SAWUN MULL'S time; thus was a clue obtained to the whereabouts of those vast subterranean storehouses of which we had heard. The principal of these were pointed out in this open ground within the citadel, as also among the ruins of the explosion. Some of these contain a large amount of silks; others ghee, and grain *stored* up in the life time of the late Dewan's father;—there is also a great collection of opium, indigo, &c., worth a large sum of money: two or three lakhs of rupees were *blown* up with the vast chaos of valuables. When the rubbish shall have been cleared away from the entrances of the Tykannahs, then we shall no doubt be able to extricate many of the bales of shawls and silks. In the mint a pretty good amount of silver and gold coin was found. Moolraj's house and the neighbouring Toshukhanah contained a great quantity, as also many valuable swords, and rich property of every description. The fort is reduced to such a heap of ruins that it will require many months to excavate, and remove the fallen houses. The site of the explosion is marked by a long deep pit, around which buildings are piled on buildings, scarcely one brick remains on another; corpses, carcases of animals, and every description of property, strew the ground; the stench within the citadel is dreadful: there must be hundreds of men buried in the rubbish. The piles of huge stone shot have been hurled to a great distance, and the contents of large bombproofs showered far and wide upon the occupants of the place. The BAHAWUL HUK shrine is reduced to a mere wreck, but that of SHAH ROOKHN ALUM has been more fortunate; it has escaped with only a few scars. It is a most massive structure, and from its great height commands a beautiful

view of the surrounding country. On ascending two winding stair-cases, the parapet is reached: thence may be seen the snowy range, the winding course of the Chenaub, the numerous canals, gardens, and fields, which dot the far spreading jungle; even Jhung, on a very clear day, is said to be visible. Within the courtyard of this shrine there is a newly-built range of bombproof barracks: in these, some valuable property has been stowed away. Moolraj's house appears to have been *once* a good substantial one. It is unroofed, and the walls are knocked to pieces with our shells; he appears to have vacated it long ago. There is a large garden with raised walks, which appears to have been nicely laid out. Between this and the beforementioned tomb there is an enormous domed magazine, surrounded by a dry ditch several feet deep. A trench has been cut to communicate with it underground, and the surface being closely packed with logs of timber, a mine is suspected; double sentries have been placed as a precaution against accidents. The stables, godowns, and arsenal, are built in long ranges, behind the citadel wall; they are mostly protected by domed roofs of considerable thickness, but our shells have penetrated them, and set *fire* to the contents; many dead and wounded men on charpoys were found in them. In a large timber yard, wheels for guns of all sizes, and zumbooruk saddles, newly made, are lying about in great profusion:—further on, near the ramparts, are two large brick furnaces for casting cannon; an earthen mould of a very large one, *intended* to be made, lies close to them. The quantity of loose gunpowder in every hole and corner is surprising; the largest collections are those in the vicinity of the heaps of arms thrown away by the garrison before making their exit. Camp-followers and others appear utterly regardless of danger, for blazing fires of logs are met with at every turn. Some small explosions have occurred, but no one has been killed, though many have been seriously burnt. The soil appears *made of lead*. Bullets strew the ground like pebbles; the supply would have lasted for years had the garrison held out: cannon balls are equally common, from those stone ones of Brobdignagian proportions to the Lilliputian for one pounders. Thirty-nine cannon have been counted, and four mortars (the largest of these has been knocked off his rude carriage by our shot.) There is abundance of wall-pieces of all sizes, and length; zumbooruks, and muskets innumerable, with piles of matchlocks of every weight and size. Tulwars by thousands, and heaps of wooden and leather accoutrements for all the above weapons. I think Mooltan is the beau ideal of a Buneea's fort, or rather fortified shop; never perhaps in India have such depots existed of merchandise and arms, amalgamated as they are with avarice. *Here* opium, indigo, salt, sulphur, and every known drug, are heaped in endless profusion—there apparently ancient granaries in the bowels of the earth disclose their huge hoards of wheat and rice; *here* stacks of leathern ghee vessels, brimming with the grease, fill the pucka receptacles below ground, *there* silks and shawls revel in darkness—bales rise on bales; *here*, some mammoth chest discovering glittering scabbards of gold and gems—*there* revel tiers of copper cannisters crammed with gold mohurs. My poor pen cannot describe the variety of wealth displayed to the inquisitive eye. Tumbrils under strong guards have been moving to and fro with gold coin all the day. It is said *three or four Krores* are concealed in the fort: the place is alone known to MOOLRAJ, who may eventually make such disclosures as would materially benefit his cause. The sappers are busily employed in filling up our trenches and approaches. I think we have taught the Mooltanees how to take a fortress, and they will probably profit by the tuition should affairs ever allow it."

Preparations had been making some time beforehand for the upward march of the troops. On the 27th January the first portion of the Bengal force, under Brigadier MARKHAM, of H. M.'s 32nd, marched out. It was composed of ANDERSON'S troop H. A., the 11th irregular cavalry, H. M.'s 32d foot, and the 51st and 72nd N. I. He reached Ameerghur on the 28th, and halted at Sirdarpore, the place where the Seikhs from Mooltan attacked them on their downward march on the 16th August, and where SHERE SINGH first encamped on the 11th

October on his retirement, on the 30th: they crossed the Ravee at its junction with the Chenaub on the 31st, and arrived within six marches of Jung, a large mercantile town near the junction of the Chenaub. They were from this to push on to Ramnuggur, the place near which the Grand Army lay encamped betwixt the 20th November, when Lord GOUGH joined, and the 16th December. They were expected to reach this, if all went well with them, by about the 18th February. On the 30th, the second brigade, consisting of MACKENZIE'S troop H. A., 12 heavy guns, the 11th regular cavalry, H. M.'s 10th foot, and the 8th and 51st N. I., and commanded by Brigadier HERVEY, followed in the footsteps of the first. On the 2nd February the Bombay Column marched, under command of Brig. Genl. the Hon'ble H. DUNDAS, with Col. D CAPON as Brigr. It consisted of H. M. 60th Rifles, the 1st Bombay European Fusiliers, the 3rd and 19th N. I., the 3rd troop H. A., the 2nd company 1st battalion European artillery with No. 7 light field battery attached, the 1st company sappers and miners, and 500 of the 2nd Scinde horse,—or in all about 2200 European and 2400 natives,—all in the very highest condition. On their way they were stopped for a little, receiving submission from NARAIN SINGH, who occupied the Fort of Chunioot with a garrison of 2000 men, who gave themselves up as prisoners. He had here been shut up for some weeks by SHEIK EMAUM OOD-DEEN—dispatched at the time of his withdrawal from Mooltan to watch his movements. Various letters of importance had been detected in the possession of MOOLRAJ—one in particular, of very recent date, from DOST MAHOMED, encouraging him in resisting, and giving assurance that assistance was at hand.

"NOTIFICATION.—FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.—CAMP MUKKOO, THE 25TH JANUARY, 1849.—The Governor-General has the highest satisfaction in intimating to the President in Council, and notifying for public information, that he has this day received intelligence, that on the morning of the 22nd instant, when, practicable breaches having been effected, the Troops were about to storm the Citadel of Mooltan, the DEWAN MOOLRAJ surrendered himself with his whole Garrison unconditionally to the British Government.—2. The Governor-General directs that a Salute of 21 Guns shall be fired at every principal Station of the Army, as soon as this Notification shall be received.—By order of the Right Honorable the Governor-General of India. (Signed) H. M. ELLIOT, Secretary to the Government of India, with the Governor-General."

"FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.—*Camp Ferozepore, the 1st February*, 1849.—The Governor General having received a despatch, reporting the surrender, on the morning of the 22nd instant, of the Citadel and Garrison of Mooltan, directs that, together with other despatches relating to the operations against the city and fort, it shall be published for the information of the army and of the people of India. The capture of this important fortress, which during a protracted period has resisted the powerful armament brought against it, and has been defended with gallantry and endurance, is a just subject of congratulation to the Government of India and to the army. The Governor-General desires to convey to Major-General WHISH, C. B, his warmest thanks for the valuable service which has thus, under Providence, been rendered to the Government by the united forces which he commands; for the steady and skilful and successful prosecution of a siege which at comparatively small loss to ourselves has inflicted most heavy loss upon the enemy, and has utterly destroyed his strongest fortress. Brigadier Cheape, C. B., the Chief Engineer of the army, is entitled to the best thanks of the Governor-General, for the zeal and ability with which he has fulfilled the important duty entrusted to him; and in the discharge of which he has been well supported by Major NAPIER, Chief Engineer of the Bengal division, and Major SCOTT, Chief Engineer of the Bombay division, of the force. To Brigadier MARKHAM, whose services have been conspicuous, to Brigadier SALTER, and to Brigadier HERVEY, the Governor-General tenders his warm acknowledgments. To Brigadier the Hon'ble H. DUNDAS, C. B., Commanding the Bombay Division, to Brigadier CAPON, and Brigadier STALKER, the best thanks of the Governor-Genl. are due, for the ready and effec-

tive assistance they have rendered upon all occasions; as well in the attack upon the suburbs on the 27th December, as in the assault of the city, which their troops were the first to enter; and in all the subsequent operations of the siege. To Major GARBETT, and to Major LEESON, commanding the artillery of the Bengal and Bombay divisions; to Commander POWELL, of the Indian Navy; and to the heads of the various departments, the Governor-General offers his thanks. And to all the troops of each division, European and Native, to the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, the Governor-General tenders his hearty thanks for the gallantry, perseverance, skill, and discipline, which they have displayed throughout the service on which they have been employed. With equal cordiality the Governor-General offers his best thanks to Major EDWARDES, C. B., with the Irregular force under his orders; and to Lieut. LAKE, who has commanded the forces of our ALLY the Nawab of Bhawulpore. The Governor-General congratulates these officers on their having been enabled, with their native troops, to witness, in the capture of Mooltan, the complete vindication of the supremacy of British power, which, during the past summer, their own gallantry and enterprise so materially contributed to sustain. The Governor-General will have the utmost satisfaction in bringing the services of the force at Mooltan under the favorable consideration of Her Majesty's Government and the Hon'ble East India Company. A salute of 21 guns has been ordered to be fired at every principal station of the army in India.—By order of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India,—H. M. ELLIOTT, Secretary to the Government of India, with the Governor-General."

SECTION VII.

THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF entrenches his camp.—Summons Reinforcements.—Attempt of the Seikhs to outflank him.—The Seikhs supposed to have retreated across the Jhelum—Found to have got into our rear, and to have occupied a position round Goojrat.—Arrival of WHISH'S Force.—Operations on the Chenaub to prevent the Seikhs crossing.—Lord GOUGH advances on the position of the enemy.—Battle of Goojrat.—Pursuit of the enemy.—Despatch of GILBERT'S Force.—Crosses the Jhelum.—Release of the Prisoners.—Surrender of the Seikh Chiefs.—Pursuit of the Affghans.—GILBERT reaches Attock.—Reaches Peshawur.—Troops cantoned.—THE ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJAUB.

RETURNING from Mooltan, where the scene has closed, to the camp of the Commander-in-Chief, the reader may be reminded that at the close of Section V. the insurgents occupied the strong post of Russool, meant to have been attacked on the 14th January, when Lord GOUGH lost his temper, and gave battle a day sooner than was intended, and on which his left at that date rested. The former consisted of some 30,000 men of all arms—a third at least of whom were in the last degree irregular,—with about 40 guns, none heavier than 14-prs. The river Jhelum was in their rear, and their communication with the countries beyond, where their friends lay in strength, and from which their supplies were drawn, was maintained by a bridge of boats. Lord GOUGH had also at this time begun to entrench himself: he had ordered up the whole troops that could be spared from Ramnuggur, and directed H. M.'s 53rd from Lahore, and H. M.'s 98th from Ferozepore, to join him without delay. Brigadier-General WHEELER'S force from the Jullundhur was also directed to join: it was about 5000 strong, with 12 guns. On the 27th, General WHISH'S force, liberated from Mooltan by the surrender of the Dewan, began its upward march. The former reinforcements amounted to some 7000, the latter to about 12,000, or 19,000 in all. ILAHEE BURSH, the Commander of the Seikh artillery, who had come over to us about the 18th, proved himself meanwhile a valuable man in camp, from his knowledge of the country, and purpose and enterprize with which he seemed disposed to exert himself. Hitherto SHERE SINGH appears to have received no material accession to his strength:—CHUTTUR SINGH, and AKRAM KHAN—son of the Ameer of

Cabool, had both made visits to camp, but neither appears to have brought troops along with him. On the 27th, Lieut. BOWIE, the companion in arms of Major LAWRENCE at Peshawur, arrived in camp on parole. He was understood to be the bearer of overtures or explanations of some sort from SHERE SINGH. He returned to the camp of the enemy on the expiry of his parole: all had, according to him, been kindly treated, and Major LAWRENCE had been permitted to rejoin his family at Sukkoo, from whom he had been so long separated. The Commander-in-Chief now began to clear the countries betwixt his camp and the Chenaub of jungle and impediment—a tolerably essential operation, which had, it seems, been overlooked for a couple of months; and to erect strong outworks in the direction of the Seikh camp. With so tremendous a park of artillery and supply of mortars as that at his disposal, it might have been imagined that rather than stand still he would have endeavoured to approach their position by regular parallels and covered ways—as in a case of siege: our ordnance could have told on them fearfully at a range to which their shot could not have reached us. On the 30th, a party of the enemy was seen prowling about in quest of our camels as they fed: they were attacked by Lieut. CHAMBERLAIN with a party of CHRISTIE'S Irregular Horse (the 9th). Sixteen of them were cut down and slain,—the rest were put to the rout. Lieutenant CHAMBERLAIN himself was slightly wounded—this being the sixteenth time we believe that this brave officer has been hurt in action since 1840. At this time a working party of 500 Europeans were employed in throwing up a redoubt on the right face of the camp; they were relieved by a corresponding number at midnight: the work was carried on from sunset to dawn. Other works were desired to be constructed by hired labourers: the sepoys guarded the workmen—having themselves, we presume, declined, as at Mooltan, to handle entrenching tools. The work was conducted under the supervision of Capt. CUNNINGHAM and Lieutenant YOUNG, of the Engineers; and the enemy seemed to feel uneasy as they saw us at last adopting a system against them which they had pursued so long, and with so much success against us. On the 1st Feb. a strong detachment, consisting of a regiment of dragoons, and another of light cavalry, with four guns, was detached to bring up supplies from Ramnuggur.

About the 6th a field-work, skilfully placed in advance, compelled the Seikhs to shift that part of their camp more immediately threatened with danger; and just after this an attempt was made by them to outflank us, they continuing to protect themselves in all their movements by excellent entrenchments, constructed with the skill and expertness in forming field-works to which all their successes are ascribable. Their object seemed to be twofold—first, to secure supplies, then on their way for them, and next, to provoke us, if possible, to attack them in their entrenchments before the arrival of our reinforcements. They had begun very seriously to incommode us by interrupting our communications from the rear, when all at once they abandoned their entrenchments, and the rumour ran that they had crossed the Jhelum and fled into the Doab beyond. Their camp was examined everywhere, but not an article of property was found, or indication discernible of what might be their purposes, or whither they had gone. One day of mystery and wonderment was spent, when the next brought the astounding intelligence that the insurgents, instead of retiring across the Jhelum, had moved their whole army past us, and now occupied the town of Goojrat, seventeen miles in our rear. Rumour added that they were in full march on Lahore, and that a party of them had crossed the Chenaub, and threatened Wuzeerabad, a detachment of NICHOLSON'S Irregulars having fallen into their hands. Such indeed had been their purpose: its execution was delayed by the unexpected rising of the river; and frustrated by the unlooked-for celerity with which WHISH accomplished his march. At Lahore everything was prepared for their reception—a second Chillianwalla would have occasioned the sacrifice of the Capital. The Commander-in-Chief now prepared to abandon his entrenchments, but the difficulty of collecting some 60,000 baggage cattle and 100,000 followers who were permitted to prowl about in quest of food as far from the camp as was consistent with safety, caused thirty hours' delay. At length the troops were got in motion

on the 15th. They proceeded in nearly the same line as that in which they had advanced, and, after a march of from twelve to seventeen miles, took up ground before the village of Lussooria, near the spot where Sir JOSEPH THACKWELL had engaged the enemy on the 3rd Dec. Meanwhile the victorious army from Mooltan had been directed to push on by forced marches. General WHISH with MARKHAM'S brigade arrived at Ramnuggur on the 13th; HARVEY followed on the 16th, and on the 18th DUNDAS with the Bombay Column made their appearance, having covered thirty-seven miles of ground during their last day on the way, and having occupied in all a day less from Mooltan than any of the forces preceding them. And this was much where all had done so well: it is here adverted to to meet the slander that they had lingered on the way. On arriving at Wuzeerabad, WHISH found a strong force on their way from Lahore to join head-quarters. It consisted of H. M. 53rd, and the 13th, 20th, and 53rd N. I., with the 12th and 13th Irregular Horse. The force which had arrived with him from Mooltan consisted of H. M. 32nd, the 51st, 52nd, and 72nd N. I., with the 11th Irregular Cavalry. The first news which reached him on his arrival was, that the whole insurgent force was in full march on the Chenaub, a part of them having already crossed at Wuzeerabad. Immediately on becoming aware of this, General WHISH, without waiting for instructions, ordered two 9-pounder guns, and QUIN'S Irregular Horse, to proceed up the river's bank without delay on the 14th. On the 15th, H. M. 53d, the 13th N. I., and 12th irregular cavalry, with two field guns, the whole under the command of Colonel BYRNE, were dispatched in the same direction. They marched all day, and reached Wuzeerabad in the evening, —having covered since morning twenty-four miles of ground. They were ordered to risk nothing—to reconnoitre merely, and, if resisted, to fall back at once on MARKHAM'S Brigade, which followed to support them. It turned out that the Seikhs had never crossed in force at all—those of them who had been on the hither side had returned to the further: there were at the same time reported to be 4,000 of the insurgents on the opposite bank. On the 16th, MARKHAM'S Brigade, consisting of H. M. 32nd, and the 51st and 72nd N. I., with two squadrons of the 11th irregular horse, pushed on to the ford at Hurree-ke-puttun, half way betwixt Ramnuggur and Wuzeerabad, where a bridge of boats had been constructed, and half the force proceeded immediately to cross. On the same day Colonel BYRNE, learning that a body of Seikhs 6,000 strong, with six guns, were preparing to cross at Sodra Ghaut, dispatched Colonel ALEXANDER to the spot with four guns, two regiments of irregular horse, 580 men of H. M. 53rd, and the 13th N. I. These were not only able to prevent the Seikhs from crossing, but induced them to fall back on their main force at Goojrat, so that the detachment rejoined Colonel BYRNE in the evening. Major LAWRENCE at this time came into camp on parole—he immediately proceeded to meet his brother at Lahore. His family continued with the enemy as hostages for his return, and he rejoined accordingly just after the battle. On the 16th, Lord GOUGH quitted his camp at Sadoolapore, and made a march in the direction of the enemy. On the 17th, he made another short movement in advance, and being now within six miles of their outposts, and in a position to compel them to fight, he resolved to await in camp the arrival of the last of his reinforcements. WHISH now joined head-quarters, and HERVEY'S brigade also came into camp, leaving the heavy guns to follow. On the 19th the Bombay Column joined, and arrangements were made for action. On the morning of the 20th, MARKHAM joined, and BYRNE was directed to move down the left bank from the position he held at Wuzeerabad with two corps of infantry and four guns, leaving two regiments of irregular horse to watch the fords to prevent marauders from crossing. It is said to have been the intention of the Seikhs at first to push on for Lahore, and if possible secure the capital before they were overtaken. Foiled in this by the premature arrival of the Mooltan Column, they now wished to temporize so as if possible to gain time to enable them to secure provisions and fall back on their former position, which they seem to have left for want of supplies. A careful reconnoisance having been made, the enemy were found to be nearely 60,000 strong, including, we presume, marauders and camp-followers, with probably 25,000 regular troops, and about 60 pieces of artil-

lery, mostly of small calibre. Their camp lay around the town of Goojrat in nearly a semi-circle; their regular troops immediately fronted us: just behind them, and between them and the town, was the channel of the river Dwara, at this season without water. This forms a deep, strong, and tortuous, watercourse, which, after nearly embracing Goojrat in one of its flexures, diverges for some distance to the north and west, and then, taking a southerly direction, runs almost through the ground occupied by the British Army. The enemy had taken advantage of this for the protection of their right their infantry being secured by the watercourse, while their left was covered by another watercourse running by the east of the town into the Chenaub. Between these two a space of nearly three miles of ground well fitted for a battle-field extended. The order of battle had been set when our troops encamped. The Bombay Column, commanded by Brigadier-General the Hon ble H. DUNDAS, occupied the left. It was supported by WHITE'S brigade of cavalry, including the Scinde Horse, and Captains DUNCAN and HUISH'S troops of horse artillery: the infantry was covered by Major BLOOD'S troop of Bombay Horse Artillery—the whole mounted force under Sir JOSEPH THACKWELL. An attempt to turn the flank was apprehended from the Seikh and Affghan horse, which the cavalry were speedily called to guard against. CAMPBELL'S division of infantry, covered by Nos. 5 and 10 Light Field Batteries, under Major LUDLOW and Lieutenant ROBERTSON, were placed next the Bombay troops, with their right resting on a watercourse; HOGGAN'S brigade acting as their reserve. On the right of the water-course, again, GILBERT'S division was placed. Eighteen heavy guns under Majors DAY and HORSFORD, with batteries under Captain and Brevet Major (Sir RICHMOND) SHAKESPEARE, were disposed in two divisions on the flanks of the brigade. WHISH'S division of infantry, with MARKHAM'S brigade in support, formed a continuance of the line—the whole being covered by three troops of horse artillery, with one light field battery; with a second reserve of Artillery under Colonel BRIND. The right flank was protected by HEARSEY'S and LOCKWOOD'S Cavalry Brigades, with WARNER'S troop of horse artillery. The rear was guarded by the 5th and 6th light cavalry, the Bombay light field battery, and the 45th and 69th Native Infantry. The arrangement was completed, and the troops in position by daybreak,—the British force amounting to about 25,000 men, with nearly 100 guns, of which a third were of the largest calibre. The Commander-in-Chief's intention was to penetrate the centre of the enemy's line with his right, so as to turn the position of the force in the rear of the water-cotrse, so that the left might be enabled to cross in comparative safety, and, in combination with the right, to double upon the centre wing of the enemy's force opposed to them. At half-past seven the whole force, thus formed, moved forward in the direction of the position of the enemy, who opened their guns with their usual skill and precision so soon as they believed us within range. The infantry were halted just out of reach of the fire, and our artillery, covered by skirmishers, was pushed on. This was the first occasion in the course of his military life when Lord GOUGH seems to have preferred the use of round shot and grape to the bayonet: the measure, new and obvious as it was, is said to have been forced upon him by others. The tables as they stood at Moodkee were on this occasion turned, and we had now abundance of battering guns to oppose 7 and 8 pounder field pieces—with only two 16, and one 18 pounder to resist us; and at the distance of 1000 to 800 yards the heavy guns could pound them at pleasure, the lighter artillery pushing on as the opposing fire slackened. The Seikh guns one after another became dismounted, and it was clear they could no longer maintain themselves against us. About 9 o'clock the whole line of infantry advanced, still covered by their guns. The heavy artillery and field guns were pushed on, taking up position after position as they approached the foe. A body of Seikh infantry which lay concealed near the village of Burra Kalra, the key of their position, was gallantly driven in by PENNY'S brigade, consisting of the 2nd Europeans, the 31st and 70th N. I. A portion of HERVEY'S brigade, under Colonel FRANKS, about this time charged a body of the enemy at Chota Kalra. By 11 o'clock it was clear the Seikhs had no

longer the slightest chance with us. They had at one time threatened to attack our left, and had, with this end in view, advanced some distance, when they were first checked by round shot and then turned by grape. A party strongly posted in a nullah found itself enfiladed by our guns, and compelled to retire and leave a large piece of ordnance behind them. The enemy's cavalry now attempted, as had been anticipated, to turn our left,—and the Affghan horsemen, about 1500 in number, being conspicuous for their boldness, the Scinde Horse, mustering no more than 500, with a squadron of the 9th Lancers, were ordered to charge: they cut right through the enemy, and overthrew and dispersed them in a way that kept their comrades in breathless admiration. The General, who saw the charge, came up and warmly congratulated Lieut. MALCOLM, the officer in command of the former, on the conduct of his corps. A curious incident now occurred. Four guns had been lost by Captain HUISH'S troop of artillery at Chillianwallah: the first gun captured by the cavalry on the left, to which the gallant Captain's troop was attached, was one of these,—at which he was so overjoyed that it is said he actually hugged it in his arms. Lord GOUGH had at one time narrowly escaped being made prisoner. A body of Seikh horsemen charged his escort, by whom they were driven back. His excellency had to defend himself with his pistols, and owed his escape to Major TUCKER, who slew his most immediate assailant. It was stated that orders had been given by SHERE SINGH that the Commander-in-Chief should on no account be taken or harmed: at the head of the British Army he was worth 10,000 men on the side of the insurgents. About 10,000 of the Seikh irregular horse, with AVITABILE'S dragoons, galloped for a space along the British line, endeavouring to penetrate it: they were attacked and driven off in the most brilliant style by the 1st and 3rd light cavalry and 14th dragoons. The enemy had already lost many of the bravest of their men, and a large number of their guns, and they now began everywhere to give way. The British line rapidly advanced, carrying everything before it: the nullah and ford were crossed, all the villages carried at the bayonet's point, and the Seikhs everywhere put to flight,—the right wing and CAMPBELL'S division passing in pursuit to the eastward, the Bombay column to the northward, of the town. The retreat was rapidly converted into a flight, the enemy dispersing themselves in all directions. The gates of the town were now occupied, and all egress prevented. The camp, with all its contents, was in our possession. A party of 200 Seikhs for a short time maintained themselves in a temple: they were expelled with severe loss by a detachment from the 52nd N. I. The cavalry division under Sir JOSEPH THACKWELL were sent in pursuit. The horse artillery plied with grape on the retiring masses—the cavalry charged as often as they could get near,—and the enemy were shot and sabred in vast numbers in all directions. They at length under cover of approaching night escaped from their tired pursuers, who returned to camp at ten o'clock, having been fifteen hours in the saddle. Of the sixty pieces of artillery brought into the field against us, fifty-three were left in our hands—all that had before been taken from us were recovered. The whole camp, camp-equipage, and stores, with an incredible quantity of ammunition, was captured. Our casualties, killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to 807;* those of the enemy to at least four times as many. The following are the names of the officers *killed*:—Captain J. ANDERSON, 4th troop 3rd brigade horse artillery; 2nd Lieutenant E. W. DAY, 1st company 1st battalion foot artillery; Lieutenant A. LLOYD, 14th dragoons; Lieutenant R. COX, 8th N. I.; and Lieutenant E. H. SPROT, 2d Eur. L. I.—*Wounded*: Major G. FARQUHARSON, 8th N. I, dangerously; Maj. J. K. MCCAUSLAND, 70th N. I., severely; Captain and Brevet-Major Sir R. C. SHAKESPEARE, 1st co. 4th battalion foot artillery; Captains J. H. GODDARD, and A. SCUDAMORE, 14th dragoons, the former severely, the latter dangerously;

* The following are the details:—5 European Officers, 1 Native Do., 6 Serjeants or Havildars, 1 Trumpeter, 76 rank and file, 2 lascars, 1 syce driver, 4 syces, 143 horses or bullocks, killed; 24 European Officers, 14 Native do., 1 Provost Marshall, 40 Serjeants or Havildars, 2 trumpeters, 599 rank and file, 11 lascars, 8 syce drivers, 7 syces or grasscutters, 68 horses or bullocks, wounded; 4 rank and file, 1 syce, 19 horses or bullocks, missing.

Captain R. M. BEST, 10th foot, slightly; Captain J. W. H. JAMIESON, 52nd N. I., severely; Captain A. BOYD, 2nd European L. I., slightly; Brevet-Captain C. S. EDWARDS, 70th N. I., slightly; Lieutenants H. J. STANNUS, 5th light cavalry, severely; G. JEFFREY, 32nd foot, slightly; T. C. DARNELL, 51st N. I., severely; W. H. LOWTHER and G. R. SMITH, 52nd N. I., severely; A. ELDERTON, 2nd European L. I., slightly; and A. FYTCHE, 70th N. I., slightly; 2nd Lt. B. M. HUTCHINSON, Engineers, very severely—leg amputated (since dead); Ensigns—A. D. TOOGOOD, D. A. SANDFORD, and J. G. S. MATHESON, 2nd Eur. L. I., slightly; F. J. GALLY, 31st N. I., slightly; R. C. WHITING, and C. MURRAY, 70th N. I., slightly; and Provost Marshal BUDD, severely. The victory was complete: the artillery had done it all: the heads of divisions were said to have been instructed to act on their own judgment without reference to Lord GOUGH. Time and misfortune had taught us caution: the strategy otherwise was much the same as that which preceded it. In fighting men, and especially in guns, we greatly outnumbered the enemy. Not a single precaution had been taken to cut off his retreat, or to make future operations superfluous. Had DUNDAS's troops been pushed up, the Seikhs must have been annihilated—all chance of escape would have been cut off. The present is almost the only war in which we have been engaged in which it was impossible to give quarter, even to the wounded: when disabled or struck to the ground, the dying Seikhs watched their opportunity, and in their death struggles often cut or fired with fatal effect at those who would willingly have protected them. When there was no time to carry them to hospital, our men were compelled for their own sakes to finish the dying. General GILBERT was next day dispatched in the direction of the Jhelum, to cut off their retreat. The force under him consisted of some 15,000 men with 40 guns. They reached the Jhelum on the 28th February, and began at once to cross—without any purpose, however, of pushing on until the last division had joined them. The Jhelum, which here in the cold season is confined to a single channel, when rain falls, or the snows on the mountains begin to melt, occupies six or seven,—presenting a series of rapid currents with small islands between. When crossed by Lord KEANE's Army in December 1839, a troop of H. M.'s 9th Lancers got too far down the stream, and Captain HILTON with ten men and their horses were drowned. On the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th, the army were employed in crossing the five channels the river occupied. The streams in most of these were wellnigh waist deep, and ran with great rapidity and force. So well were matters managed that one European soldier who was seized with cramp when attempting to swim across, and one camel-man, together with some dozen or two of camels, and a considerable quantity of baggage, were all that was lost. The enemy were now affirmed to be some eighteen or twenty miles in advance, and GILBERT pushed on as rapidly as possible with the hope of overtaking them. Brigadier MCLEOD's force with the heavy battering guns crossed the Jhelum on the 9th. Brigadier-General CAMPBELL reached camp on the night of the 17th. The strong fort of Rhotas was found to have been evacuated, so here they experienced no hindrance. Meanwhile Captain ABBOTT was moving from the northward with a body of irregulars to meet the flying enemy, and Colonel STEINBACH, for three months stationary near the town of Jhelum, advanced on their flank, while GILBERT pressed on their rear. Ever since the arrival of the Mooltan force on the 16th Feb. negociations had been in progress,—Major LAWRENCE passing from camp to camp as envoy. On the 6th, Major and Mrs LAWRENCE and family and servants, Lieuts. BOWIE and HERBERT, Mr and Mrs THOMPSON, and the other prisoners, arrived in camp, with the intimation that the Seikh Chiefs and army were prepared to lay down their arms. On the 8th, the Rajah SHERE SINGH came into camp, with the view of making arrangements for the surrender of the rest of the insurgents. He returned on the following day to his own people. It was now stated that the Seikhs had once more changed their minds, and were determined not to lay down their arms without a struggle. General GILBERT therefore directed his whole force to advance in battle array,—not in all likelihood very apprehensive of danger, but prepared for any emergency that might arise. Lord GOUGH journeyed south-

ward on the 9th to meet the restored captives. On the 14th, thirteen Chiefs of note arrived in camp, and gave up their swords; and the whole Shikh army, amounting to 16,000 men, at once laid down their arms unconditionally. No fewer than 41 guns were now given up,—bringing up the number that had fallen into our hands since the commencement of the recent outbreak to one hundred and sixty! Where such a vast quantity of artillery could have come from seems incomprehensible. In the first campaign we captured above 300 guns; and taking into account those still at Lahore, this will bring the whole Seikh park up to above 500 pieces of ordnance. A proclamation was now issued by the Governor-General notifying what had occurred,* and stating that the war must not be

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* GENERAL ORDER BY THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.
FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.—CAMP FEROZEPORE, *the 17th March*, 1849.

The Governor General has the utmost satisfaction in directing that the Despatches which he has this day received from His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and from Major-General Sir Walter Gilbert, K C B, be published for the information of the Army and of the people of India.

The British Subjects who were prisoners in the hands of the enemy have all returned in safety.

On the 14th instant, Sirdar Chutter Singh, Rajah Shere Singh, and the principal Sikh Sirdars and Chiefs, delivered their swords into the hands of Major-General Sir Walter Gilbert.

Forty-one pieces of Artillery were at the same time surrendered, and the remains of the Sikh Army, to the number of 16,000 men, laid down their arms in the presence of the British troops.

The Governor-General offers to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, to Major-General Gilbert, and to the whole Army, his heartfelt congratulations on this glorious result of the battle of Goojrat, and of the operations subsequent to it, so admirably conducted by the Major-General, in fulfilment of His Excellency's instructions.

But the war is not yet concluded: nor can there be any cessation of hostilities until Dost Mahomed Khan and the Affghan Army are either driven from the Province of Peshawur, or destroyed within it.

The British Army has already resumed its march upon Attock; and the Governor-General confidently hopes, that the entire success which, with God's blessing, will attend it, may enable him soon to announce the restoration of peace.

The Governor-General directs that in honor of the important events which have now been notified, a salute of 21 Guns be fired from every principal Station of the Army in India.

By order of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India.
(Signed) H. M. ELLIOT, *Secretary to the Govt. of India with the Governor-General.*

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA, &c. &c. &c.
HEAD QUARTERS, CAMP KULLALIAH, 16TH MARCH, 1849.

MY LORD,—I have the greatest gratification in reporting to your Lordship the further happy results of the decisive victory obtained at Goojrat on the 21st ultimo.

Major-General Sir Walter Gilbert, with that energy and judgment which induced me to select him to conduct the ulterior operations subsequent to that action, has well fulfilled the trust reposed in him, by rapidly pressing the routed enemy, which has led to their unqualified submission, the surrender of their remaining guns, and about 16,000 stand of arms, all of which are now in our possession; and I rejoice to add, that this fortunate consummation has been obtained without a single shot being fired.

The whole of the Sikh Force with their Sirdars have now come in, with the exception of Bhai Maharaj and Colonel Richpaul Singh, who have absconded, but without followers.

We have now in our possession 56 Guns taken at Goojrat and abandoned by the enemy in his retreat on the 21st February; 40 surrendered to Major-General Sir Walter Gilbert since that event; 12 captured at Chillanwallah, and 50 at Mooltan; making a total of 158 pieces of ordnance which have fallen into our hands during the present campaign.

Again heartily congratulating your Lordship at this most satisfactory termination of the of the Sikh war,

I have &c. (Signed) GOUGH, General.

Head Quarters, Camp Kullallah, 16th March, 1849.

No. 282.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL SIR W. R. GILBERT, K. C. B.,
Commanding Field Force on Special Service.
To H. M. ELLIOT, *Esq., Sec. to the Govt. of India with the Governor-General.*
Camp Rawul Pindee, 14th March, 1849.

SIR,—Since I addressed you on the 11th instant, from Hoormuck, I have advanced to Rawul Pindee, which place I reached to-day.

I have now the high gratification of reporting for the information of the Right Honorable the Governor General of India, that the disarmament of the Sikh Army, commenced at Manikyalla, has been this day completed by the surrender of their swords by the Sikh Sirdars, in presence of the Commanding Officers of Divisions and Brigades and their Staff.

considered over until the Affghans were driven beyond the limits of Peshawur, or destroyed within that province. The moment the Seikhs could be disposed of, GILBERT once more pushed on in hopes of overtaking the Affghans before they had crossed the Indus, or at all events of preventing them from destroying the means of communication across. By a forced march of forty-six miles, they approached the Indus in thirty-one hours: the troops arrived at Attock in the forenoon of the 17th. When about six miles from the river, intelligence was received by Major MACKESON that Attock had just been evacuated by the enemy—that they had taken three guns along with them from the fort, and were about to destroy the bridge of boats to prevent us following them. Upon this GILBERT and MACKESON, with a small escort from NICHOLSON'S Irregulars, with LUMSDEN'S Guides, and the whole Staff, pushed ahead at a gallop, and only slackened their speed on reaching an eminence close by the river. About 100 of the enemy were here seen dealing destruction on the bridge: 5,000 or 6,000 were drawn up on the opposite bank. The sight of British Officers, supposed to be at least two days' march distant, set them all a-scampering, and fifteen of the best boats forming the bridge were consequently secured. The principal object we had in view was thus completely accomplished, and the means of following on the heels of the flying foe attained. The artillery now came up, when the Affghans found it convenient to withdraw, after firing some guns at us, which did no harm. The fort of Attock was occupied immediately, and early the following morning a brigade crossed over, and took possession of the small fort of Hydrabad, by which the town is commanded. Negotiations had been entered into with the Khyberries in hopes that the flight of the Affghans might be intercepted, and they left to receive the punishment they so well deserved near the famous battle-fields of Jumrood. Since quitting Lord GOUGH'S camp Genl. GILBERT had succeeded to admiration in carrying to a successful issue every plan he had undertaken to execute,—securing, in doing so, the fullest confidence of those under his command. Vast numbers of disbanded Seikhs were now returning to their homes in a state of great destitution and wretchedness: the bulk of them seemed to belong to the Protected States—a large number were men from Hindoostan: in both cases allured to the field as mercenaries, or in hope of plunder, with no feelings of vengeance to gratify, or objects of patriotism or ambition to serve. A mismanaged insurrection anywhere in India would bring thousands of such miscreants into the field against us.

GILBERT crossed the Indus on the 19th and 20th, and pushed on by forced marches for Peshawur, where he arrived on the 21st and 22nd. The Affghans, flying in terror of their lives, without baggage or impediment, had proved too fleet for him,—they had ascended the passes, and got beyond his reach, before he could approach within twenty miles of them. The gates of Peshawur had been shut against them, but they burnt the cantonments and house of the resident, and destroyed the suburbs and villages around. The war was now entirely over, and so soon as the intimation of the complete success of General GILBERT reached the Governor-General, a proclamation was issued intimating that the Seikh Sovereignty had ceased, and that the Punjaub was annexed to our dominions.

The British Frontier has now been pushed beyond the Indus; and not only do the Seikh States, Jamoo excepted, recognize the Sovereignty of England, but Peshawur and the Dherajat, between the river and the mountains—the most productive and the most cherished provinces of the Dooraunee Empire—own our sway: and a surface of above an hundred thousand square miles, containing a population of three and a half millions, and yielding a net revenue of about a

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The total number of guns surrendered is 41, of which a return shall be forwarded hereafter, and the number of stands of arms laid down before the Force under my command is about sixteen thousand.

I have &c. (Signed) W. R GILBERT, *Major General,*
Commanding Field Force on Special Service.

Camp Rawul Pindee, 14th March 1849.

(True Copies) (Signed) H. M. ELLIOT,
Secretary to the Govt. of India, with the Governor-General.

million sterling, has been added to our already colossal Eastern Empire. No acquisition was ever made by us with more aversion, or by means less obnoxious to censure: and by the industrious portion of the people the transfer will be hailed with gratitude. That it will not for a long period to come be able from its own revenues to maintain itself, and that it will form a heavy tax on our already overburthened finances, is more than probable. Whether it ultimately prove a blessing or a curse to us, will depend on the use we make of it. If it be dealt with as the majority of our conquests have been—neglected unless as a vast cantonment for troops and the basis of further annexation,—it will form but one addition to the mass of expensive and misgoverned provinces already bowing us down, and likely, unless under a change of system, to prove our ruin. We yet want Khyrpore, Bahawulpore, and the Rajpoot States, on the south and west, to complete our dominions—Jamoo and Cashmeer to relieve us of apprehension from the north-east,—with Oudh, Hyderabad, the Mysore, Travancore, and all the other Native States embosomed in our empire!—if the old and atrocious doctrine of the necessity of expansion be insisted on. If we are to advantage by the light of civilization, and set about making the most of what we possess before coveting more, a stupendous career of indefinite length and inconceivable brightness is before us. Our fate depends on our selection: should we persist in indulging in endless expansion, madly realizing the dream that our destinies drive us onwards,—history may, before a century elapses, have to chronicle our fall—the moralist, while deploring the humiliation of our fate, to mark the justice of the retribution which brought a nation to the ground which in the barbarous triumphs of arms forgot the claims of their subjects, and the duties due to the cause of civilization and the arts of peace. We have now at all events no reasonable pretexts for apprehension of danger on our frontier, or plausible excuse for extension of territory: and though we have often to a certain extent been in the like predicament before, we never were so to such an extent as we are now. Yet so long as restless Governors-General or warlike Commanders-in-Chief know that any war, however unjust, if only successful—any conquest, however ruinous—will obtain for them from the people of England thanks, honors, and pensions,—how shall India feel secure of tranquillity or good government, when these yield neither fame nor riches to our rulers? The present is perhaps the only occasion in our history where territory has been forced upon us, and where we literally scarcely had room to choose which measure ought to be pursued—when that resorted to was perhaps after all the lesser of the evils resulting from previous intermeddling with nations and empires that concerned us not, left to be pursued.

The Bombay troops were directed to stand fast at Peshawur for the present,—and cantonments were marked out. The Afreedees from the hills commenced carrying on a system of plunder with impunity, and murdered some of our men on their way back from the town of Peshawur to camp.—So soon as the tidings reached that all which could be attempted had been accomplished, the Proclamation intimating the Annexation was issed. Mr H. M. ELLIOTT, Foreign Secretary with the Governor-General, proceeded straightway to Lahore and assembled the Durbar, when it was intimated that DHULLEEP SINGH had ceased to reign, and the monarchy founded by RUNJEET SINGH had passed to other hands. The Prince, now Sovereign no more, is to reside within the British dominions—rumour says at Poona in the Deccan—and is to receive a pension of £40,000 a year. His mother, who expressed so much anguish on being parted from him, and whose intrigues and machinations were so well calculated to hasten his fall, has escaped from Chunar, and found refuge in Nepaul. The present force in the Punjaub amounts to 33,0 0 British troops; that on the Frontier and in the Jullundhur Doab to 38,000: the grand total of our army on the Northwest Frontier and in the Punjaub together to 71,110. The country has been placed under a Council, of which Lieutenant-Colonel Sir HENRY LAWRENCE is to be President (on a salary of 7,000 Rs.) and Mr C. G MANSELL and J. LAWRENCE, Members (on 4,000 Rs. each per mensem.) Four Commissioners have been named, viz. Messrs EDW. THORNTON, R. MONTGOMERY, M. MCLEOD, and M. P. EDGEWORTH, with a cloud of Deputy Commissioners and Assistants,

amongst whom the following have been already named:—Messrs F. B. PEARSON, H. P. FANE, W. J. R. CARNAC, H. BRERETON, PHILIP EGERTON, EDW. BAYLEY, J. WEDDERBURN, BRAND SAPTE, G. F. MACLEOD, H. B. HENDERSON, D. SIMSON, R. SIMSON, F. D. FORSYTH, J. H. PRINSEP, A. MONEY, COUPER, &c.* The greater part of these officers are already at the posts that are to be assigned to them.—It has been stated to us on excellent authority, that next cold season the Saugor and Nerbudda territories are to be permanently placed in charge of the Madras Army; so that no fewer than fifteen regiments from the South-Eastern presidency will be required where Bengal troops now serve. This is a very heavy draft on the Madras army: if such a force can be spared, it will go far to obviate the necessity of an augmentation. The Commissary of Ordnance at Saugor has been directed to prepare accounts, so as to enable the arsenal to be transferred to other hands. It is added—but on this point we speak with more hesitation—that the Commissioner for Saugor is to receive an appointment in the Punjaub, and that the civilians as well as the soldiers of Madras will move upwards. If there were any truth in the statement of Sir CHARLES NAPIER, that the Scinde force had been maintained at its present enormous strength in consequence of the past disturbances in the Punjaub, then probably a garrison would have been picked out of the army of 12,000 which maintains that loveliest and most lucrative of lands—Young Egypt.

NOTIFICATION.—FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.—FEROZEPOOR, THE 30TH MARCH, 1849.

THE Governor-General is pleased to direct, that the accompanying Proclamation, by which the Punjaub is declared to be a portion of the British Empire in India, be published for general information; and that a Royal Salute be fired at every principal Station of the Army on the receipt thereof.

By order of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India.

(Signed) P. MELVILL,

Under Secretary to Government of India, with the Governor-General.

PROCLAMATION.—29TH MARCH, 1849.

For many years, in the time of MAHARAJA RUNJEET SINGH, peace and friendship prevailed between the British Nation and the Sikhs.

When RUNJEET SINGH was dead, and his wisdom no longer guided the Counsels of the State, the Sirdars and the Khalsa Army, without provocation and without cause, suddenly invaded the British Territories. Their Army was again and again defeated. They were driven with slaughter and in shame from the country they had invaded, and at the gates of Lahore the MAHARAJA DHULEEP SINGH tender-

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* BY THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

Camp Noopur, the 13th April, 1849.

No. 456—The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General has been pleased to make the following appointments:—

Lieutenant-Colonel Sir H. M. Lawrence, K. C. B., to be President of the Board of Administration for the Affairs of the Punjaub, and Agent to the Governor-General

Mr C. G. Mansel, and Mr J. Lawrence, to be Members of the Board of Administration

Mr G. J. Christian to be Secretary of ditto.

Major H. P. Burn to be Deputy Secretary of ditto.

To be Deputy Commissioners in the Punjaub.—Mr R. Montgomery. Mr D. F. Macleod. Captain D. Ross, 51st N. I. Mr E. Thornton. Mr M. P. Edgeworth.

To be Deputy Commissioners in the Punjaub.—Mr A. H Cocks. Major G St. P. Lawrence, 11th Light Cavalry. Captain J Abbott, Artillery. Captain W. C. Birch, 5th N. I. Captain G. W. Hamilton, 31th N. I Captain G. E Hollings, 38th N. I. Major H. B. Edwardes, C. B., 1st European Regiment. Mr W. J. R Carnac. Mr F. B. Pearson. Mr J. D. Inglis. Mr E. C. Bayley. Captain F. C. Mansfield, 29th N. I. Captain R. Morrieson, 52nd N. I. Captain J. Clarke, 20th N. I. Captain G. W. S. Hicks, 8th N. I. Lieutenant J. Nicholson, 27th N. I. Lieutenant J. R. Becher, Engineers. Lieutenant H. G. Taylor, 11th Light Cavalry. Lieutenant E. J. Lake, Engineers.

To be Assistant Commissioners in the Punjaub.—Mr P. H. Egerton. Mr H. Fane. Mr B. Sapte. Mr A. Money. Mr L. B. Bowring. Mr H Brereton. Mr J. Wedderburn. Captain F. E. Voyle, 39th N. I. Lieutenant M. J. Turnbull, 7th Light Cavalry. Lieutenant H. R. James, 44th N. I. Lieutenant C. Herbert, 18th N. I. Lieutenant R. C. Lawrence, 73d N. I. Lieutenant B. M. Loveday, 15th N. I. Lieutenant J. E. Fraser, 4th N. I. Mr G. F. Macleod Mr H. B. Henderson. Mr D. Simson. Mr G. E. Cowper. Mr R. Simson. Mr F. D. Forsyth. Lieut. R. Young, Engineers. Lieutenant J. M. Cripps, 36th N. I. Ensign H. W. H. Coxe, 70th N. I. Lieutenant C. R. Pollock, 49th N. I. Mr J. H. Prinsep. Mr R. A. Prinsep.

H. M. ELLIOT, Secretary to the Govt. of India, with the Governor-General.

ed to the Governor-General the submission of himself and his Chiefs, and solicited the clemency of the British Government.

The Governor-General extended the clemency of his Government to the State of Lahore; he generously spared the kingdom which he had acquired a just right to subvert; and the Maharaja having been replaced on the throne, treaties of friendship were formed between the States.

The British have faithfully kept their word, and have scrupulously observed every obligation which the treaties imposed upon them.

But the Sikh people and their Chiefs have, on their part, grossly and faithlessly violated the promises by which they were bound.

Of their annual tribute no portion whatever has at any time been paid, and large loans advanced to them by the Government of India have never been repaid.

The control of the British Government, to which they voluntarily submitted themselves, has been resisted by arms.

Peace has been cast aside. British officers have been murdered when acting for the State: others engaged in the like employment have treacherously been thrown into captivity. Finally, the army of the State, and the whole Sikh people, joined by many of the Sirdars in the Punjaub who signed the Treaties, and led by a member of the Regency itself, have risen in arms against us, and have waged a fierce and bloody war, for the proclaimed purpose of destroying the British and their power.

The Government of India formerly declared that it desired no further conquest, and it proved by its acts the sincerity of its professions.

The Government of India has no desire for conquest now; but it is bound in its duty to provide fully for its own security, and to guard the interests of those committed to its charge.

To that end, and as the only sure mode of protecting the State from the perpetual recurrence of unprovoked and wasting wars, the Governor-General is compelled to resolve upon the entire subjection of a people whom their own Government has long been unable to control, and whom (as events have now shewn) no punishment can deter from violence, no acts of friendship can conciliate to peace.

Wherefore the Governor-General of India has declared, and hereby proclaims, that the Kingdom of the Punjaub is at an end; and that all the Territories of MAHARAJA DHULEEP SINGH are now and henceforth a portion of the British Empire in India.

His Highness the Maharaja shall be treated with consideration and with honor.

The few Chiefs who have not engaged in hostilities against the British shall retain their property and their rank.

The British Government will leave to all the people, whether Musselman, Hindoo, or Sikh, the free exercise of their own religions; but it will not permit any man to interfere with others in the observance of such forms and customs as their respective religions may either enjoin or permit.

The Jagheers, and all the property of Sirdars or others who have been in arms against the British, shall be confiscated to the State.

The defences of every fortified place in the Punjaub which is not occupied by British troops, shall be totally destroyed, and effectual measures shall be taken to deprive the people of the means of renewing either tumult or war.

The Governor-General calls upon all the inhabitants of the Punjaub, Sirdars and people, to submit themselves peaceably to the authority of the British Government, which has hereby been proclaimed.

Over those who shall live as obedient and peaceful subjects of the State, the British Government will rule with mildness and beneficence.

But if resistance to constituted authority shall again be attempted,—if violence and turbulence be renewed,—the Governor-General warns the people of the Punjaub that the time for leniency will then have passed away, and that their offence will be punished with prompt and most rigorous severity.

By order of the Right Honorable the Governor-General of India.

(Signed) H. M. ELLIOT,

Secy. to the Govt. of India, with the Governor-General.

APPENDIX.

It has not been considered necessary to load this little brochure with reprints of State Papers. The Appendix was meant to contain, besides the Biographies of men of eminence who had departed within the year, short historical Memoirs referring to events which were in part already over, but promised to form the bases of sections in our future Annals. It is, for example, to be hoped the Schools of Industry—the Researches of the Geographical Society in Physical Geography —the good deeds of Sir JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY &c.,—may form subjects of allusion for many years to come, and the present occasion seemed a suitable one for introducing them to notice. Many other things of similar sort were intended to have found a place amongst the following notices, had space permitted: those which have now been omitted or postponed may serve for future publications. It has been explained in the Introduction, that the length to which the narrative of the Punjaub war has extended has prevented any attempt at the Local annals of the Presidencies, or the progress of Education or improvement in the country: these it is hoped will hereafter form the chief subjects of attention. The omission of what was intended to have been an outline of the researches in science pursued in India, and the pursuits followed and discoveries made by men of learning, is subject of much regret—it is hoped that next year it may be remedied. The work as it is has swelled to double the size designed for it—its publication been deferred for months after it ought to have appeared; and the haste with which it has at last been necessary to pass it through the press will, it is hoped, excuse many omissions which might have been supplied, and imperfections which might have been remedied, had more time been permitted.

The nature of the reception that may be vouchsafed to the present production will assist in guiding us as to the future.

BOMBAY, *21st May*, 1849.

ERRATA.

The writer of the Narrative of the late Lieutenant Colonel W. Havelock not having had it in his power to revise the proofs, and his MS. being none of the most legible, has requested that the following addenda and corrigenda be made :—

Page XXVII, line 8, for Box Hill read "Izon Hill."
17, for elders read "survivors."
XXVIII, line 3, for Calcrofts read "Calcrafts."
5, for Deasey read "Disney."
32, for most stirring read "heart stirring."
XXIX, line 17, after the word corps add—"To these might have been added Major—now Major-General—Charles Beckwith; Lieutenant-General Sir Andrew Barnard; and Colonel Sir Neil Campbell, father of the present Quartermaster-General of the Bombay Army,—all of the 95th foot: they were in the regiment at or about this time."
28, for Condeira read "Condeixa," and for Sahegal read "Sabugal."
31, for young read "growing."
Note, line 1, for haggle read "boggle."
XXX, line 1, for Givar's read "Giron's."
5, for cavest read "carent."
7, for horse read "hare."
17, for Angello read "Angelo."
24, for preferred read "proposed."
3 from bottom, for Alba read "Alten."
1, from bottom, insert the word "or" betwixt subaltern and under.
XXXI, line 9, for bulwarks read "boulevards."
XXXII, line 3, for stream read "river."
6, for river read "Scheldt."
9, for caliche read "caleche."
23, insert the word "though" betwixt and and he.
24, for into read "ento."
33 and 30, for Corfew read "Corfu."
8 from bottom, for mortgazers read "mortgagees."
8 from bottom, for Haward read "Howard."
XXXIII, line 9 from bottom, for Gourpara read "Ghorpurra."
XXXIV, line 9, for secresy read "seeing."
32, for nearly read "near."
XXXV, line 12, for Bijorre read "Bigorre."
XXXVI, line 13, insert the word "had" betwixt he and moved.
26, for purposed read "proposed."

APPENDIX.

THE following Biographical Sketches are extracted, with some few alterations, from the papers of the day. Many names are omitted which ought to have appeared amongst them—some will perhaps be found whose notoriety scarcely entitled them to a place in history. From sketches such as these, depending on the knowledge or feelings of the writers, no true comparative estimate can be formed of the merits of the individuals referred to. This much of caution is requisite to prevent injustice or delusion—the errors to be corrected are almost exclusively those of omission.

SIR ROBERT OLIVER, KT., R. N., COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE INDIAN NAVY.

IN our second edition of Saturday (5th August) we intimated the demise of Sir ROBERT OLIVER, and now take leave to lay a few particulars regarding him before our readers, conceiving that a party occupying so prominent a position in Society, and in relation to whom so much has of late been said, is deserving of more than a passing notice. We may observe at the commencement, that we have no intention of writing the biography of the deceased, or of fairly analysing his character, or weighing his merits or demerits against each other. Of the pages and pages which within the last twelve months have been written on these subjects, little or nothing we believe emanated from personal feeling, and scarcely anything, so far as facts are concerned, requires to be recalled. At the time when eminent men—for such was the Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Navy—are summoned to their account, men would willingly endeavour to forget their errors in the more charitable and pleasing task of endeavouring to recall their virtues to remembrance. Sir R. OLIVER entered the Royal Navy in 1795, and obtained his commission as Lieutenant in February 1800, when on board the *Espoir*, eighteen gun brig, then bound for the Mediterranean. On the 4th April 1804 this vessel, in company with the frigate *Success*, observed some vessels on the Calabrian coast, and Lieutenant OLIVER, in charge of one boat, with Lieutenant SARTORIUS in another, with the other boats of his ship, were sent to destroy them. Three of the boats were swamped on sunken rocks as they approached the shore, when the gallant officers and men swam on shore with their cutlasses in their teeth, under a heavy fire from the guns of the enemy: they set fire to the ships, spiked the guns, recovered their boats, and returned to their vessels unharmed. He was senior Lieutenant on board the *Spartiate* in 1823, bearing the flag of the Admiral on the American station. In 1827 he was removed from the *Wellesley*, where he had been under Real-Admiral Sir GEORGE EYRE, to the *Victory*, Admiral Sir R. STOPFORD. He was here promoted to the rank of Commander by the Lord High Admiral, for meritorious services. He shortly after joined the *Asia*, eighty-four, commanded by Sir HYDE PARKER, destined for the coast of Portugal. He soon after this returned to England, and was appointed to fit up some of our war-steamers with a variety of pivot guns which he had himself constructed. He afterwards commanded the sloops *Phœnix* and *Dee*, and though the occasion noticed as having occurred early in his career was the only one when he had an opportunity of distinguishing himself, he seems to have been known at

all times as an able and meritorious officer of a somewhat antiquated school, and he owed his advancement to command almost entirely to his merits. In 1837 he became Post Captain in the Navy. At this time Admiral Sir C. MALCOLM was about to retire from Bombay, and the Court of Directors, who were particularly anxious to obtain the services of some one familiar with steam navigation in its present state, applied to the Admiralty to recommend an officer from the Royal Navy, and Captain OLIVER was accordingly named as a party eminently qualified for the post. This having been offered him, was at first declined—when, on a second application to the Admiralty, he was again recommended, and on this occasion he accepted the appointment. Whatever the results may have been, no selection could have been made more impartially or carefully. He arrived in Bombay overland in July 1838, and was immediately put in charge. Heavy complaints were made against him in the Indian Navy in reference to the retirement of certain officers from the Navy who were averse to the packet service in 1842: they were fully and satisfactorily replied to, and he himself was shortly after Knighted in testimony of the approbation of his superiors. He was indeed a hard-working and upright officer, however erroneous his conceptions might have been of what was for the good of the service. Shortly after this, the constitution of Naval Courts-Martial, on which hitherto military officers had sat, was altered, and endless confusion introduced in consequence. In 1847 he was elevated to the rank of Commodore of the Indian Navy, with a view to the removing of some of the anomalies which had arisen. He a few months afterwards was created Commander-in-Chief of the Navy. In October, 1844, he returned to England—having required to submit to a severe surgical operation: this he got over lightly, and was again in Bombay in December 1845, Captains PEPPER and LYNCH having held the appointment during his absence. His residence in the Dockyard was a very unhealthy one, and ten years of severe labour, with much exposure to the sun in India, at an age betwixt 60 and 70, is not without its results. On the 27th July he had accompanied Mr GOLDSMID and family on board the *Childe Harold*, bound for the Cape, and suffered so much on his return from exposure to the sun that he was removed from his residence to that of Dr GIRAUD at Byculla, where he continued to sink gradually till the morning of the 5th, when he expired. Sir ROBERT OLIVER was an affectionate and kind husband, and eminently dutiful parent; and he was greatly beloved by those who were intimately acquainted with him, and before whom he could lay aside all his gruffness and austerity of manner: by these his loss will be much deplored. He belonged to a school of seamen for many years happily all but extinct, and we believe few public men have ever had so many imputations cast upon them of which so few could be impugned. Subjoined will be found a brief and ably written notice by Government of his services. It is not our purpose to analyse the contents of the paper now that its subject is no more; we of course cannot quite go along with the compliments on "the master mind" applied to the late head of our Marine. Government could not, consistently with their former notices, have said less than they have done on such an occasion as the present. They could hardly have said more, or said it better.

BOMBAY CASTLE, 8TH AUGUST, 1849.

No. 127 of 1849.—The Right Honorable the Governor in Council has received with the deepest concern and regret the report of the decease, on the morning of the 5th instant, of Commodore Sir Robert Oliver, and feels it to be his duty publicly to record the high and lasting sense entertained of the value and importance of the services which this lamented and distinguished officer has performed while filling the office of Superintendent, and latterly of Commander-in-Chief, of the Indian Navy.

Sir Robert Oliver has stood for ten years at the head of the Indian Navy; and during the whole of that period the records of Government abundantly prove that he has discharged the responsible and onerous functions of his high office in a manner which has elicited the warmest approbation of every superior authority in India and in England. His energy, foresight, skill, and thorough practical knowledge of every branch of his profession, have always been conspicuous; and these qualities were so displayed in the equipment and fitting out of the vessels dispatched to co-operate with Her Majesty's Navy in the China Expedition, that it pleased Her Majesty,

in 1843, to confer upon him the honor of Knighthood expressly "in acknowledgment of the zeal and ability with which that officer had exerted himself to further Her Majesty's Service in relation to the Expedition sent to the China Seas."

Under the conduct of Sir Robert Oliver, the strength of the Indian Naval force has been largely increased, and its services employed, always with honor and success, in every part of the Indian Ocean. The various Marine Establishments connected with the Navy have been extended, reformed or organized; a Steam Factory of great power and efficiency has been erected, and commodious slips for the promotion of Ship-building at the Port have been constructed. Other works and improvements planned or advised by the same master-mind have been completed or are in progress, the whole designed to render the Dockyard of Bombay equal to the important National objects for which it may be required. The great extension given to the Indian Navy generally, and to its Establishments in Western India, under the management of Sir Robert Oliver, has caused the Hon'ble the Court of Directors recently to invest him, in his office of Superintendent, with the Commission of a Commodore of the First Class, and the dignity of Commander-in-Chief.

The Right Honorable the Governor in Council feels it to be unnecessary to do more than point to these leading facts in Sir Robert Oliver's Indian career. Originally selected to fill the Office of Superintendent of the Indian Navy, on account of the qualifications he had been proved to possess in his own service, the Royal Navy, he has amply fulfilled all the expectations based on his appointment. He has devoted the whole energies of his life, with untiring zeal and unflinching honesty of purpose, to the duties of his station: he has died at his post; and the Government deeply deplores the loss of one who for ability, integrity, and faithfulness to his trust, justly merits to be ranked among the most deserving and distinguished servants of the State.

—*Bombay Times, August* 9.] A. MALET, Chief Secretary to Government.

COMMODORE JOHN PEPPER, INDIAN NAVY.

COMMODORE JOHN PEPPER, of the Indian Navy, Acting Naval Storekeeper, died on Friday morning the 4th August, at Poona, whither he had proceeded for a change of air. Captain PEPPER was the senior officer of the Indian Navy, of which at one time he officiated as Superintendent, and was greatly esteemed and respected in every branch of the public service. Captain JOHN PEPPER was Commodore at Surat till the abolition of the appointment in 1840, when he returned to England. He took out the *Acbar* to China in 1842, and with her returned to Bombay, where he was appointed Marine Storekeeper on the demise of Captain SIMSON, in April 1844. He became Acting Superintendent of the Indian Navy in October 1844, when Sir ROBERT OLIVER returned to England, but was on account of sickness obliged to resign this and proceed to Europe in April 1845. He returned thence about a twelvemonth since, and was placed as Captain on board the hulk *Hastings*, where he continued some months on the bare allowances of his rank. In May he once more resumed the duties of Storekeeper, of which Captain ROBINSON had been in temporary charge. The 2nd Grenadier Regiment of native infantry, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel BULKLEY, attended his remains to the grave, with military honors, the same evening. —*Bombay Times, August* 9.

BRIGADIER L. R. STACY, C. B., 43RD B. L. I., COMMANDING THE MEYWAR FIELD FORCE.

COLONEL STACY entered the army as a Cadet at an early age, and obtained his Lieut.-Colcy. in 1846. The gallant veteran distinguished himself in 1841 at Kelat, —of which the Bengal 43rd, then under his command, was after its recovery left in charge,—and by his endeavours, which ultimately proved successful, to seize NUSSEER KHAN, the young ruler of this division of Beloochistan, with whom we were then most anxious to be on good terms. He was with General NOTT at Candahar until the march on Cabool by Ghuznie, where he commanded a brigade, and eminently distinguished himself. He commanded one of the brigades under General NOTT which destroyed Charekar and Istaliff, and returned with the combined armies to India in December, 1842. He conceived that his services had been less praised by Government than they deserved to have been, and that the troops under him in 1842 had suffered great injustice at the hands of General NOTT, just before his death he published a work entitled—"*The Services of Stacy's Brigade in Afghanistan*," in which matters were set in a clear and full

light, and from which it was evident he had not been without good ground of complaint. He had seen some flattering notices of the work in the Indian papers of July: before a single copy reached India the author was no more. Colonel STACY was well known throughout India as an antiquary, and especially as a numismatologist: he had contributed largely in Bactrian and Sassanian coins to most of our museums, and must, we should imagine, have left a very fine private collection behind him. He was fond of engineering, and up to within a few weeks of his death was engaged in perfecting a very ingenious implement for preventing the accumulation of mud and sandbanks, or in removing those which had accumulated in rivers and estuaries, or wherever currents to give it motion existed. On this he had bestowed the name of the River Fidget: the last letter we received from him was an excuse for not having sent a model of the implement, which he had long promised, for exhibition in the Polytechnic Institution, and experiment on the sands in Backbay. He had for some time been suffering from liver complaint, and died suddenly on the 19th July at Neemuch, where he held command. He was kind-hearted, good-humoured, and vivacious: his little eccentricities served only the more to endear him to those who knew him, and his death will be deeply lamented by a large circle of friends.—*Bombay Times, July 29.*

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JOHN SUTHERLAND, OF THE 2ND BOMBAY LIGHT CAVALRY.

THE demise of Lieutenant-Col. John SUTHERLAND removes from amongst us one of the Statesmen of the school of ELPHINSTONE and METCALFE, who will long be the pride of our country and glory of our history. He was a distinguished member of that class of politicians who consider the improvement preferable to extension of our possessions where only one of these can be attended to; and who had seen too much of the selfish and engrossing nature of war and conquest to believe in the possibility of our devoting ourselves with energy to two such conflicting processes as those of domestic good government and external aggrandizement. Seeing how easy it was to pull down or uproot—how difficult to re-construct or rear, according to our own conceptions of things, what we had destroyed—what would be equally useful to those we desired to advantage or fraternize with,—Colonel SUTHERLAND followed the true English principle of endeavouring to make the most of everything to be met in with,—holding it in most cases greatly preferable to re-adapt, re-adjust, and repair, rather than to renew the social edifice. He was a man of high intelligence, of the purest benevolence, and of the most unswerving integrity. He never suffered the Native Chiefs, with whom he had to deal, to be bullied or intimidated,—inveigled, deluded, or misled. When a proposition was to be made to them, his first care was that they should comprehend it thoroughly, and appreciate the consequences likely to flow from it; and, having done this, that they should decide on it according to the best of their judgment. His Court of Delegates from the Rajpoot States to settle every question of general importance, went far to extinguish those heart-burnings and intrigues—those jealousies and misunderstandings—which are the curse of Native Courts. Colonel SUTHERLAND entered the Army as a Cadet in 1809 at the age of sixteen, having served before this for two years in the Elgin Militia under the command of the late Earl of MORAY. At this early age he had attracted the attention of his superior, and was treated more as the personal friend of Lord MORAY, who offered him a commission in the 73rd Highlanders then as a boy under his command. He early distinguished himself by his devotedness to Oriental study and the proficiency he made in the tongues, history, and manners, of the country. He was on the personal staff of the Hon'ble MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE while Governor of Bombay; and was subsequently employed in the Deccan in a high political capacity under the Bengal Government. He was in 1833 private secretary to Sir C. METCALFE, then deputy-governor of the Northwest Provinces. He was after this appointed Agent for the Governor-General in the Rajpootana States, where through his means, and those of his very able and zealous assistants, suttee, infanticide, the sale of children into slavery, and

other monstrous usages, which had flourished from time immemorial, were abolished. Through him numberless valuable institutions were brought into existence: amongst others a Medical College, to the establishment of which he contributed largely from his private purse. He was devoted heart and soul to the prosecution of the work in which he had long laboured so successfully; and, when spoken of as likely to be appointed Commissioner in Scinde, stated that he hoped to live and die in striving for the improvement of Rajpootana. Like many of our most eminent men in India, he rejoiced in the excitement of field sports: when engaged in hog-hunting at Ulwar in 1843, he lost his cap, and, in galloping on without it, received a stroke of the sun, which shattered his nerves, and from which he never recovered. His health after this for some time continued to fail him,—his mind being occasionally affected. In the end of 1843 he spent some weeks in Bombay on his way to the Cape, and it pleased him then to resume his cavalry uniform, and revive old associations by once more taking on himself the duties of A. D. C. and receiving the forenoon visitors at Government House. A two years' stay at the Cape improved his health while it impaired his fortunes—he having speculated in land not likely to prove profitable. His strength was still but imperfectly restored, and in the hot season of 1847 he spent some months on Mount Aboo for the benefit of his health. He at one time proposed visiting his early and intimate friend Mr CLERK, Governor at Bombay, in October last. The Governor was at this time believed to be on the eve of visiting Scinde—as it proved, he was preparing to retire from India altogether: so Colonel SUTHERLAND returned through the desert without accomplishing his contemplated return to the earliest scenes of his exertions in the East. On crossing the desert he expressed himself strongly on the unwisdom of the policy which thought to improve our power by extending it: had they pursued the route, or examined the arid and inhospitable regions he had travelled, they would have thought of no better "defences from an army advancing from the west." In the year 1833 his treatise on the relations subsisting betwixt the British Government of India and the Native States was first printed: a second edition appeared four years afterwards. It was printed by Government under the political department, but never published. He had proposed to commence the revision of this for publication on his return from Aboo in 1847, carrying it down to the present time; and Government had given directions to all its officers to supply him with whatever documents he required. He had never been an admirer of any part of Lord HARDINGE'S Punjaub policy save that which maintained the heir of our ancient ally RUNJEET SINGH upon the throne: and purposed availing himself of the opportunity the publication of his intended work afforded of expressing the views he entertained in opposition to it. The circumstances of the Mahrattas and Seikhs he considered wonderfully analogous. Our first great mistake he believed to be our entering into treaties or engagements with an infant, binding upon ourselves principally, when it would have been much more satisfactory to have taken on ourselves the administration of the realm during the minority, conducting its affairs by a council of regency, as was the case in Cutch when Sir H. POTTINGER was Resident; and as was subsequently the case with Jeypore and Joudpore. The error committed at Lahore in Feb. 1846 was, he conceived, similar to that fallen into at Nagpore in 1817-18 under similar circumstances: we found ourselves almost immediately compelled to interfere to a much greater extent than we contemplated, and made our subsequent operations a series of make-shifts and expedients. Colonel SUTHERLAND, like his friend Mr. CLERK, and his subordinates Major LUDLOW and Captain BURTON, was a zealous supporter of every establishment which had the good of the country or advancement of the people in view: he was one of the largest subscribers to the establishment projected in Bombay for the tuition of native craftsmen in the improvement of arts and manufactures: and the example he set was promptly followed by those around him. Though long past the prime of life, he was still as fresh as in his youth of vigor, activity, and zeal; and as devoted as ever to the good works in which he had for half a lifetime laboured: he had no wish to relinquish the task he had undertaken, or return to his native country,—and he has died with harness on his back. The

following extracts from a communication published in the *Calcutta Star*, appear to have been furnished by a personal friend of the deceased :—

"He intended to pass the whole of the next season on Aboo, where he had hoped the work would be completed, and, after visiting Oudepore and some other minor States, had it in contemplation to visit the Cape, en route to England and Scotland —his faithful friend and medical attendant having promised him never to leave him. Of this plan he had never spoken, but it was no small consolation to those who watched him with all the affection his noble nature inspired, to be assured that at no distant period he would be restored to his beloved family in Scotland. But alas! the fatigue of that dreary march, and the exposure to the great changes of climate in Rajpootana, proved too much for his frame. We are here permitted to give an extract from a letter by Doctor COLERIDGE, giving a true account of the rapid progress of the fatal attack which terminated the existence of him who was truly the soul of honour.

"Extract of letter from Doctor Coleridge :—'He was in apparently perfect good health, both of body and mind, until 6 o'clock of the night of Friday the 23d of June—and I imagine, as was his unvarying custom, finished all office work up to that time. About 6 o'clock he proposed to me to take a drive. I saw that he was languid, and the heat was intense, and I persuaded him to remain at home: he sat with me talking as usual, but for the last fortnight he had frequently said the heat was more intense than he had ever felt it during his long residence and constant exposure in India, and he felt weak. At 8 o'clock, his dinner hour, he complained of sleepiness, and for the first time left us to dine alone: he retired to his couch, and I saw him *calmly* and comfortably asleep, and his sleep was always peculiarly calm and gentle. In the morning *as usual* I went to his room *early*—he said he had felt restless in the night, but not so much so as to call any one. I gave him a draught, which as usual composed him, and sat with him until he slept. I watched him, but about half-past ten, he had a severe spasmodic attack, with fullness of the blood-vessels of the head and neck. I bled him (what a *dread* he always had of being bled!) to a small extent, which gave immediate relief to the symptoms, but he sank fast, and died in less than an hour, unconscious of either pain or suffering.'

"*From another Letter.*—'What a change does not this sad event cause in Rajpootana! What a calamity to his favourite Rajpoots! the loss of their unflinching champion! How many fine qualities for a public officer linked with some few faults—yet how remarkable that the chiefest of his faults *as a man*, his excitable temper, and even with his Rajpoot Chiefs, should yet have been a grand element of his power over them. It prevented them from presuming on his known partiality, and kept them in a wholesome *personal* dread of him, from their experience that he cared not a rush for them as individuals, but only as a body. The Court of Vakeels delighted in his presence, for many an affair which to one less learned in 'International Law' would have led to a loud dispute, perhaps even to the introduction of our own troops into the jealous States of our faithful allies, the Rajpoots, were settled by him in a way peculiarly charming to the 'Rob Roy' Chiefs of Rajpootana. A piquancy of manner, and whimsical way of expressing it, may have led one of more ordinary stamp than himself, or his noble and chivalrous Rajpoots, to say, his 'mind was affected.' But his decrees were always just!"—*Bombay Times, July* 12.

MAJOR SIR WILLIAM CORNWALLIS HARRIS, OF THE BOMBAY ENGINEERS.

The demise of this officer took place at Serwul, on the Neera River, a village twenty-two miles from Poona, on the way to the Mahabuleshwar Hills, on the evening of the 9th October. Sir W. C. HARRIS came out as a Cadet in 1823, and throughout his service distinguished himself as an active and zealous member of the eminent corps to which he belonged. He was a man of much enterprize and energy; a devoted sportsman; a first-rate draughtsman; an excellent linguist; and generally well-informed man. In 1835 he proceeded on sick certificate to the

Cape, and his health having speedily become restored by a residence in a more temperate climate than that from which he had suffered, he resolved on making a journey into the interior. The greater part of the two following years accordingly were devoted to this. On his return to India the following year he published an account of the expedition, accompanied by a valuable zeological appendix. The first edition of this was printed at Bombay, and a second was soon after published in London, with a splendid collection of drawings and illustrations in lithography tinted. The work was reviewed in the *Quarterly* for October 1839, and pronounced one which would be read with great pleasure and profit,—in which the zoologist would find many valuable accounts of the habits of animals of the greatest rarity, and the sportsman read of scenes of the most stirring discription. Immediately on his return to India he was ordered to join the Bombay column then (November 1838) about to proceed to Scinde on its march to Affghanistan. Shortly after this he endeavoured to make his way by Sonmeanee through Lus to Kelat. He went disguised as a horsedealer, but found himself detected, and was compelled to return. An account of this was published in the Geographical Transactions of 1840. In April 1841 he was dispatched as Ambassador to the Court of Shoa in Upper Abyssinia, at the head of a mission consisting of Captain DOUGLAS GRAHAME; Dr. KIRK; Captain HORTON, 14th Dragoons; Lieutenant BARKER, I. N.; and Dr IMPEY: the three last-named were recalled before the journey had been much more than begun. Here he remained till 1843, when he returned to Bombay accompanied by some of the Natives, and in possession of a large collection of curiosities from that country After a short sojourn in Bombay he proceeded on sick leave to England, and while at home received the honor of Knighthood. An account of the proceedings of the mission was shortly afterwards published in a work in three volumes, entitled—"The Highlands of Æthiopia" He returned to Bombay in February 1846, having travelled over the Continent, and spent some time in Egypt on his way out. He has since the departure of Colonel GRANT for the Neilgherries on sick certificate,—November 1847,—acted as Superintending Engineer in the Deccan. In 1845 Sir W. HARRIS was married to Miss SLIGO, of Seacliff, East Lothian. He had throughout the rainy season suffered considerably from attacks of fever, and three weeks since was on the point of proceeding to the Mahabuleshwar Hills, when the malady encreased, until on the 9th, it proved fatal. Sir W. HARRIS was a man of great kindness of heart, sprightliness of disposition, and sweetness of temper: he was possessed of a large range of varied information, and of tastes elevated and refined. He was much beloved by all who knew him, and his loss is subject of deep grief to a large circle of affectionate friends.—*Bombay Times, October* 14.

CAPTAIN E. J. BROWN, BENGAL ENGINEERS.

CAPTAIN E. J. BROWN, of the Bengal Engineers, late first assistant to the Commissioner in Scinde, died at Bombay on the 9th November 1846. The officer just named became principal assistant to Mr. ROSS BELL in 1839, and enjoyed the trust and favor of that gentleman till the time of his demise in August 1841. He continued in employment under Colonel OUTRAM, and became a great favorite with Sir CHARLES NAPIER when the gallant General was placed in full political as well as military power in October 1842. After the Conquest, he was appointed Secretary to the Scinde Government, in which situation he continued under Mr. PRINGLE after the retirement of the Conqueror of the country. He was one of a body of amateurs who proceeded to Moolcan in August to be present at the siege. His constitution had suffered severely from a residence on the Indus of unparalleled duration for an Englishman, and he was suffering from an alarming attack of sickness on his return to Kurrachee. He arrived at Bombay on the 17th ultimo, intending to proceed to Europe on sick leave. He became gradually worse, and was at the dispatch of last steamer unable to be moved: on Thursday he breathed his last. Captain BROWN was a man of good talents and fair acquirements,—of much energy and enterprise, and with that happy facility

of securing the entire confidence of those by whom he was employed or trusted. Few constitutions indeed could have braved for ten years the climate of Scinde, under circumstances similar to those in which he was exposed to it. Liver complaint was that which proved fatal to him.—*Bombay Times, November* 11.

DOCTOR WILLIAM GRAY.

THE death of this officer, which took place at Edinburgh on the 16th of July, has, we know, occasioned deep regret to many of our readers, and we notice the melancholy subject with a view of giving some short account of a gentleman who was so universally esteemed. Dr. GRAY was educated at the University of Edinburgh in the days of the LESLIES, PLAYFAIRS, and MONROES, and entered the Medical establishment of our presidency in 1819, but was obliged to quit it as a Superintending-Surgeon in 1846, on account of premature infirmities and exhaustion, induced by a long and laborious career of honest and creditable service in our most unhealthy climates. He was at the capture of Aden as Surgeon of the 1st European Regiment, and, on his promotion to the rank of Superintending-Surgeon, joined the Scinde Division, where his health was irretrievably broken. Many will recollect him at an earlier period of his career as a highly popular Garrison Surgeon at the presidency. He was the son of a remarkable man—the Reverend JAMES GRAY, for many years one of the principal teachers in the High School at Edinburgh. Mr. GRAY was the best Greek Scholar of the day in Scotland, but could never obtain a place amongst the Professors of her Universities, on account of the uncompromising character of his politics. He finally came as a Chaplain to India, where his interesting connection with the Rao of Cutch, whom he instructed in many of the European Arts and Sciences, and whose love for his memory is shewn by the tomb placed over his remains at Bhooj, is well known. In early life the reverend gentleman had been the attached friend of ROBERT BURNS, and it is in reference to his eloquent vindication of the Bard's character that Professor WILSON says "Scotland will ever be grateful to JAMES GRAY"! He was also closely connected by marriage with the Ettrick Shepherd, and, being a poet, is one of the minstrels introduced in the Queen's wake as contesting the prize—

> When lovely Mary, blythe in mood,
> Kept holy day at Holyrood.

And the description there given of the father was equally applicable to the son:

> Alike to him south or north—
> So high his ardent mind was wrought,
> Once of himself he scarcely thought!

Doubtless the same estimable qualities shone forth in both these excellent men, and we may add an expression of our personal belief that a more unselfish, single-hearted, upright, and honorable, man than the late Dr. WILLIAM GRAY, has seldom appeared amongst us. His memory will long be cherished by those who knew him best: and of him, as well as of his father, it may be truly said—*Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit.—Bombay Times, September* 6.

MR CHARLES FORBES.

MR FORBES had for years been suffering from an affection in the chest, and about the beginning of 1847 alarming symptoms of pulmonary consumption made their appearance. These from time to time abated and returned on him till the only hope—a fallacious one as it has unhappily proved—of restoration for him, seemed a trial of the mild climate of Egypt and the South of Europe. He left Bombay in October 1847, and after spending some months in Egypt, where he appeared greatly to improve, proceeded to Malta, where his strength continued gradually to sink until his sufferings were closed by death on the 16th May 1848. Mr FORBES joined the Bombay Civil service in 1835, and retired from it in 1840, when he was placed by his uncle Sir C. FORBES at the head of the House of FORBES & Co., there having been no resident partner in Bombay from the time of Sir CHARLES' own retire-

ment.* The opinion formed of his talents by a judge so severe as Sir C. FORBES in reference to a matter in which his own interests were immediately concerned, may be judged of by his being placed, at the early age of twenty-one, when as yet he had had no training and no experience in mercantile affairs, at the head of the oldest, most extensive, and successful, mercantile establishment in Western India. Some months afterwards he in the course of business had occasion to subscribe an affidavit on the subject of the affairs of Dr FORBES, a client of the house: the paper, which was drawn up by the usual Attorney of the House, was a blundering and irregular one, and when the case came before the Supreme Court, Chief Justice ROPER charged Mr C. FORBES with the want of a proper sense of the obligation of an oath. When the fit of ill-humour in which this was done was over, Sir H. ROPER explained that he had been guilty of nothing more than subscribing a somewhat irregularly drawn affidavit. Mr FORBES felt the original imputation to be so unworthy and unmerited that he turned his back on him who made it when advancing to accost him; to this the Chief Justice formally alluded on the Bench as one of the reasons why "a soothing and impartial judgment was not to be expected of him," on the motion being made to have the offensive matter, admitted by the Court to be unjustifiable, expunged from the records. The nice sense of honor and high integrity of Mr FORBES were well known to the community, and the very unbecoming expressions of the Chief Justice were commented on by the Press: and out of this arose "The Great Contempt Case," so much noised about in 1841. Mr C. FORBES was a man of an unusually fine taste, and powerful and highly cultivated understanding. Deeply read in English and in Continental literature, he was well skilled in the Greek and Roman classics, and displayed singular felicity and feeling as a writer, both of prose and poetry. But little of what he wrote has been printed: what little has been published has been mainly ascribed to other pens. Nor do we feel ourselves authorized, now that he is gone, to remove a veil he would if spared most certainly not have suffered to be withdrawn. He was eminent as a draftsman, and distinguished, indeed, by his proficiency in most intellectual accomplishments. Of great natural uprightness of disposition, he was feverishly sensitive to the slightest imputation or suspicion, and shrunk as from contamination from those he considered capable of doing what was disingenuous, mean, or dishonorable. He was naturally of feeble frame and sickly constitution: he was so near-sighted as scarcely to be able to distinguish his most familiar friends ten paces off: and these, conjoined with a great natural shyness and timidity of manner, and the attachments already alluded to, made him comparatively little known amongst us. To his nearest and most intimate friends only was his character as above described familiar: and to these we feel assured what has been given will appear but a feeble outline of his merits.—*Bombay Times, July* 1.

THE REVD. MR. SANDYS.

THE REVD. MR SANDYS, late Chaplain at Belgaum, died on the 12th July. Mr SANDYS was a man of good talent, of a large amount of general and varied information, and of a very amiable disposition. He had naturally a taste for mathematics and the mechanical department of civil engineering, and was constantly engaged in designs and contrivances for the benefit of the native community. These were not mere dreams or jimcracks, but generally sound and sensible, such as promised success and advantage. His family had shortly before left for England: he himself breathed his last in the house of Mr INVERARITY, where every effort was made to soothe and relieve, and to supply, as far as could be done by strangers, the place of those who had left him.—*Bombay Times, July* 19.

MEMOIR OF SIR JOHN PETER GRANT, CHIEF JUSTICE OF BENGAL.

WHEN a leader of Society passes away from among us, he usually shifts to another phase of the varied career which political life enforces, or after having been merely

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* Mr FORBES, now no more—the late distinguished Dr MALCOLMSON, who had retired on purpose from the Madras medical service,—and Mr J. BOWMAN—all joined the Firm in June 1840. More able, upright, or deserving, men, no house need boast of.

a useful instrument, until, superannuated, he retires to enjoy the pleasure available and becoming to old age in the land of his birth. We vote alike to both the complimentary address and the perpetuating testimonial. The history which the one has acted, we leave to history to narrate: the unostentatious utility of which the other has been the agent, we believe to be its own reward. With the statue, the bust, the picture, or the vase, voted—and sometimes paid for—we feel our function to be ended. If posterity have further curiosity on the subject, to posterity we bequeath the task of satisfying that curiosity. So runs the routine of Indian gratitude. It is sufficient for us to look through the eyes of Europe. When it is decided at home that an Indian public man is to be considered a statesman, or a general, we are glad to hear it, and rush to the circulating libraries for his "Life," in two or three volumes, royal octavo, price twenty-four rupees. But when he went away from among us, we never sought to weave together the smallest memorial of him, though nowhere perhaps can the material be more copious. And if his achievements have not been of a character to be appreciated beyond the immediate sphere of his duty, he is soon numbered with the unrecorded things that have been, and "his name dies silently." Not even the casual nook of a newspaper gives a week's immortality to the story of a life, which nevertheless we vote—but voting comes of our British nature—meritorious.

The career of the eminent man who quits our shores to-morrow is one which affords us ground to originate deviation from customary routine, and we trust the bad habit once broken through, will ere long be eradicated. Playing a not insignificant part in political society at a time which is already historical, and when that society, illustrated by great names, was undergoing rapid transition, the end of which even we have not yet arrived at, Sir JOHN GRANT has seen the twenty closing years of his life spent afar from the scene of his early successes, chequered in the events they brought him, and employed in routine duties, the ablest discharge of which secures no fame, and scarcely ensures gratitude. And now the period of his exile, abridged of a few short weeks by ill health, he returns home to recruit his constitution by entire abstinence from public life, of which he has here taken his farewell. While impressions are fresh, the sketch of that public life will not be without its interest for all: hereafter the local antiquarian may breathe his benedicite on our memory for affording him materials which will then be difficult of access.

We leave to the painful student of heraldric rubbish to announce when the GRANTS of Rothiemurchus separated from the main trunk, and when they settled on the boundary between the shires of Inverness and Moray, at the foot of Craigellachie, that "rock of alarm," which has ever been the rendezvous of the clan, and which furnishes their slogan. The description of the ancient family mansion may be hunted for in the "Beauties of Scotland:" the mansion itself is a ruin at Muckerath. Sir ALEXANDER BOSWELL shortly pictures the inhabitants of the district around it in those well known lines—

> Next, the GRANTS of Rothiemurchus,
> Every man his sword and dirk has,
> Every man as proud's a Turk is,
> Feedle dum de dee.

Sir JOHN PETER GRANT was born on the 21st September 1774, and is therefore above 73. Of the events of his early life we know little, except that from boyhood he enjoyed the intimacy of Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH. Some stranger or other who visited the seat of Sir ALEXANDER MACKENZIE in the county happened on a stroll to meet the future historian of the Revolution, and being quite charmed with his precocity, mentioned him as a discovery to the MACKENZIE. "Oh!" said the host, "it's JAMIE MACKINTOSH—every body in Invernesshire knows JAMIE." At the St. ANDREW'S banquet in 1832, Sir JOHN GRANT said with reference to MACKINTOSH—"I propose the memory of a man whose society from the earliest days of my life I enjoyed, and whose friendship I had the happiness. * * He followed the views and steps of another whom I had the happiness also to number among my friends—Sir SAMUEL ROMILLY. He took up the line

which his death had broken;—he accomplished that which ROMILLY was not spared to effect. By power of eloquence, by solidity of reasoning; by the force of his irresistible appeals to those entrusted with the guardianship of the prosperity of the country, but who were not ashamed to shrink back from the task, he impelled them to take into consideration the amelioration of the criminal code of England! Whatever name may appear fixed to those bills that shall be passed for the amelioration of the criminal side of England, ROMILLY laid the foundation; MACKINTOSH drew the plan and raised the superstructure, and MACKINTOSH forced them upon the nation. * * From a very early period of my like was I acquainted with that excellent man. I knew him when he was in College at Edinburgh, and when he devoted himself to the legal profession. In those days of his early youth he surpassed every one of his time, as much as in the full vigor of his life he surpassed every other man." The Scottish Colleges were at that time studded with talent, since become historical. Contemporaries with MACKINTOSH at Aberdeen were HOPE, afterwards Lord President; MALCOLM LAING, the historian; and LEWIS GRANT, (Earl SEAFIELD,) the brilliant promise of whose youth was prematurely clouded by mental aberration. At Edinburgh the Speculative Society was in its palmiest days. Mr GRANT profited by the opportunities then afforded by the modern Athens, and devoted himself to the law. We have no means of knowing when he was called to the bar, but he could not have long been attached to the profession in Scotland, though the minute acquaintance he displayed with its practice in parliament, and ever after, shewed the attention he had paid to the study. Like a number of active and ambitious aspirants, he imagined he saw a prospect of greater success in England, and, as after him did the BROUGHAMS and HORNERS, emigrated, leaving those who remained behind, the JEFFREYS, MURRAYS, RUTHERFORDS, and ABERCROMBIES—to profit by the relief from competition afforded to them. Mr GRANT must have entered himself at some College in Cambridge, to shorten the term of his novitiate to the English bar, since we find that University assigned as the *alma mater* in which he took the degree of M. A. He also placed his name on the books of Lincoln's Inn, by which honorable society he was called to the Bar on the 1st February 1802.

Mr GRANT subsequently went the northern circuit, and occasionally crossed the border—with what professional success we do not know. At this time, the Duke of Sussex had begun to gather round himself a select society tinctured with liberalism in some respects even beyond what was esteemed orthodox in the saloons of Holland House, and in this circle of the royal Earl of Inverness, the Laird of Rothiemurchus was a welcome and esteemed habitué. His eminent social talents, refined manners, and liberal principles, could not but have recommended him to a prince whose sympathies lay entirely that way, and who to a certain degree considered himself the Scottish member of the royal family. It is not improbable that for a while the prospects of Mr GRANT assumed a brilliant aspect, from the very circumstances which ultimately tended to obscure them. At a time when all distinction was political, and party was ever on the watch to recruit her ranks in parliament from the youthful members of the forum, it was not unlikely that Mr GRANT contemplated his profession principally as the portal to the House of Commons. If this were his object, he soon achieved it, being elected member for Great Grimsby in Lincolnshire at the general election of 1812. When parliament met in November of that year, his return was opposed, but unsuccessfully, and he continued to sit for the borough till the dissolution in 1818. In 1819 he was again returned for Tavistock, where he succeeded Lord JOHN RUSSELL. The name of Mr J. P. GRANT figures at fitful intervals in the indices of HANSARD till 1826, when the parliament died a natural death. The next saw the split in the Tory party, and the first approximation of the Liberals to power. But at this moment, when his steady adherence to his principles, and the prominent position he had attained as a speaker, promised an opening to Mr GRANT, he was compelled to forego his parliamentary career, and return in mature life to professional labour. It may be remarked while passing, that in the retirements from public life, the CANNING Parliament presented a singular resemblance to the one now in session:

not less than 133 new members having been elected by the constituencies in repudiation of old nominees. Mr GRANT received from his friends a seat on the colonial bench; their favourite pension to those who no longer have it in their power to serve them. Nominated Puisne Judge of Bombay, he underwent the usual infliction of Knighthood. Sir JOHN PETER GRANT entered upon his new career by taking charge of his judicial duties early in 1828, since which time his history has been exclusively Indian. Before coming to this part of it, we may briefly review that career which he had just closed.

In parliament, Sir JOHN GRANT was an active and troublesome opponent, a frequent and effective speaker, but rarely venturing on a sustained effort. When, however, he made a demonstration in that line, he was sure to call up some prominent member of the ministry—the Lord Advocate HOPE; Lord PALMERSTON, then (his penultimate change) a stout Tory; and more than once even CANNING himself. His maiden speech was delivered on the currency question, and to it throughout his parliamentary life he continued to pay great attention, though an adherent neither of HORNER nor HUSKISSON. The public acquaintance with political economy was then very limited, and men who advocated it as the basis of all commercial legislation were tolerated only because it was thought that their missionary labours were ridiculously impotent to modify ruling principles of action. On the subject of free trade Sir JOHN GRANT had very definite opinions. He saw before him a forced state of society in which the principle of protection pervaded every nook and cranny. Could it be neutralised at once every where, he admitted the condition to which we should then arrive would be better by far than that in which we were, inasmuch as the actual and the scientific would be identical. But in the strife of interests and parties, he thought he saw no prospect of such extensive and universal reform, and from successive and partial changes he expected more present misery and ruin to the national prosperity than would be justified by ultimate and permanent renovation. Placed more than thirty years forward in history, we have seen that the task of shaping the real to the ideal would not be so difficult did statesmen but set about it in an honest spirit, and with determined resolution: we have learnt to discern that much of ghostly terror has been excited by the fevered imagination gazing on a turnip lantern. But we have also learned to appreciate the sincerity and conscientiousness with which those opinions were championed; and those who are willing to accept in Lord JOHN RUSSELL the fact of an honest conversion from the principles he once preached to the farmers of Tavistock, cannot be less just to the successor to his seat, though a landed commoner. At that time riots were very frequent, and once, after a protracted debate, the mob outside, finding Mr GRANT mentioned as one of the great champions of restricted importation, proceeded to exercise the indefeasible privilege of Englishmen by demolishing his windows. Luckily for him, Mr ROBERT GRANT was mistaken for the anti-free trader, and the unfortunate partizan of HUSKISSON suffered for the misdeeds of the protectionist!

Among the greater occasions which called Mr GRANT out in a conspicuous manner was Lord MORPETH's motion on the Speaker's address to the Prince REGENT, Mr GRANT's speech on which was characterized by Mr (afterwards Lord) PLUNKETT as eloquent and admirable, doing ample justice to the subject, and exhausting the legal arguments available. The compromise made by Lord CASTLEREAGH on the point of slavery, when concluding the treaties of 1814, similarly too became the theme of indignant comment to Mr GRANT, whose incidental tribute to Mr WILBERFORCE was alike graceful and forcible. This oration was also warmly complimented by Mr CANNING, though he dissented from the conclusions drawn by the speaker. On two other incidents connected with our foreign policy, the part taken by Mr GRANT distinguished him for ability, eloquence, and strong sympathies with freedom, calling forth from the antagonist party their ablest swordsmen to cross his blade, and from his friends the expression of their respectful admiration. We allude to Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH's motion on the abandonment of the Genoese, and Mr WHITBREAD's debate on the petticoat embroidered by FERDINAND THE BELOVED for the Blessed Virgin.

In the state prosecutions in Scotland, Mr GRANT was retained as counsel for the prisoners, and the line taken by the Lord Advocate on that occasion was considered so illegal in a constitutional point of view, that the opposition brought it before parliament through Lord ARCHIBALD HAMILTON. Mr GRANT followed up the explanation of the Lord Advocate in a long speech, full of minute details, luminously arranged and forcibly presented, eliciting the approval of ROMILLY, MACKINTOSH, and TIERNEY. At a later period, in conjunction with Lord ARCHIBALD HAMILTON, Mr GRANT endeavoured to reform the Scottish county and burgh representation, but without any beneficial result. He continued, however, to the last to keep the subject in view, and never missed an opportunity besides of mingling in debates on Scottish legal reform, which at one time occupied much of the attention of the legislature.

As far therefore as it went, the parliamentary career of Mr GRANT must be pronounced highly successful. He manifested all the qualities usually requisite to a leader of party, and, had circumstances, at the crisis when they became adverse, permitted him to continue his political career, he would probably have attained a definite position as such. But it was ruled otherwise. And his thorough familiarity with forms and precedents, joined to his tact and courteous manners, only served to render him in after life the very best Chairman of a Meeting Calcutta ever had!

At the time when Sir JOHN GRANT took his seat on the Bombay bench, his colleagues were Sir HARCOURT CHAMBERS and Sir EDWARD WEST, the latter of whom soon after died. Just before this period the experiment of introducing Natives of India to serve on Petit Juries was put on its trial, and it may well be imagined that the new Judge, full of his English notions, took especial interest in the success of that experiment. His successive charges are replete with sound instruction to them, couched in the clear and precise language he is so much a master of; and his final verdict on the benefit derived by the extension of English institutions to India is best given in his own words:—

"The admission of Gentlemen, Natives of India, to serve on Petit Juries, had taken place shortly before my arrival at this Presidency. I have had time and opportunity sufficient to judge of their manner of discharging their duty as Petit Jurors, and I am certain there can be no doubt on the mind of any person who has witnessed it, that they have displayed admirable qualifications for the office, and that great benefits have been derived from their assistance. I trust that they will soon form part of the Grand Juries as well as of the Petit. According to their various stations in society, of this I am certainly persuaded, that no trust can be reposed in them by the legislature in the discharge of which they will not do honor to themselves and render great service to their country. For my own part, I must say that, in my station, which has not been always unattended with difficulties, I have uniformly felt under the greatest obligations to the native community, the conduct of the respectable part of which has left on my mind impressions of esteem and regard which can never be effaced."

The state of the Bombay police was at the time also most miserable: robbery by large armed gangs in the island itself was a common occurrence; and so great grew the alarm of the native population, that an address, signed by all the respectable native inhabitants, was laid before the Governor, demanding special protection against these dacoitees. The Council was agitated about new regulations, and many a formidable scheme of almost martial law was propounded. The grand jury presented their complaints to the Bench, and Sir JOHN GRANT's charge in answer may be referred to as a masterly exposé of the means already afforded by English law to subdue the evil, which he said required no other remedy than the administration of existing laws with increased vigour and attention. In that farewell to the grand jury of Bombay in which he partially reviews his judicial career, and which we have already quoted from, we have the following passage:—

"We did dispense with these projects and novelties which indeed it would have required the powers of the legislature to introduce. We have stuck by the laws of England, and we have arrived at as great a degree of tranquillity and security

as, I will be bound to say, exist in any place of an equally dense and numerous population, with even less than equal poverty in any part of her Majesty's dominions."

Not over favorably impressed with the administration of justice by the Company's Courts; conciliating the natives within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court by the exhibition of the difference between complicated law as dispensed by men thoroughly educated in it, and independent of executive interference, and a simple code as administered by those who were not generally so educated, and who were dependent on the favor of the local Government for promotion; reading in the character of that Supreme Court no limit to its jurisdiction afforded by the collateral jurisdictions of the Company's courts—it is not to be wondered at, that the Bench of Bombay should have been inclined to extend what they considered their ægis, when occasion offered, to protect the Bombay Mofussilites from tyranny and informality. Within the year after Sir JOHN's arrival in the country two cases occurred of this nature, which led to a memorable rupture between the Government and the Sepreme Court, and ultimately to the transfer of Sir JOHN's labours to the Bengal presidency.

The first of these was known as BAPPO GUNNESS's affair. A man of that name had been convicted, by the zillah court at Tannah, of embezzlement of government monies, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment; he applied for a copy of his committal, and it was refused. He then applied to the Supreme Court for a writ of *habeas corpus*; it was granted and obeyed. A return was made in due course, and BAPPO carried, in answer to the writ, before the Court in Bombay. The Court thought the writ defective, gave time to amend it, and allowed BAPPO to be carried back to prison till the amendment were made. In the meanwhile Sir JOHN MALCOLM, observing the turn affairs were taking, authorized the gaoler not to amend the writ; he did not do so, and the Supreme Court set BAPPO at liberty. By the discussions which ensued it afterwards appeared to be the general impression of competent lawyers that the zillah court had been egregiously wrong on the merits of the case, and the Government seems to have been of the same opinion: feeling that practically no injustice had been done by the Supreme Court, it made no opposition to BAPPO's release, thus avoiding for the time the collision that however was inevitable.

Immediately after occurred the affair of MORO ROGONATH. This was a Mahratta of high caste and large fortune, and fourteen years of age. He had been living with his maternal relations, and had married one of them. According to Hindu law, his great-uncle, one PANDURANG RAM CHUNDER, was his legal guardian, and some disputes arising between RAM CHUNDER and the relatives with whom ROGONATH was living, the former claimed his right of guardianship. The lad was accordingly removed to his house, and remained there a twelvemonth. He attempted to escape, but was reclaimed through the magisterial interference of Mr DUNLOP, a Company's officer. All this occurred at Poonah. The reputation of the Supreme Court as the redresser of wrongs had reached the ears of ROGONATH's baffled family, and a writ of *habeas corpus* was applied for. A summons was in the first instance dispatched, and the Portuguese official who served it seems to have terrified the whole station by the powerful description he gave of the "We of the Supreme Court." The Government now deemed it time to interfere. RAM CHUNDER was desired not to obey the summons, as not being a British subject, but exempted by special treaty from judicial interference on the part of the British. This was followed up by an official letter from the Governor-in-Council to the Judges of the Supreme Court, requesting them to suspend proceedings under their interpretation of the Charter in such cases—until the Home authorities decided whether it was correct. At this juncture Sir HARCOURT CHAMBERS died, and on Sir JOHN GRANT devolved the task of steering the Supreme Court through the business.

Ruling that the interference of Government was illegal in directing that no further proceedings be admitted in the case of MORO ROGONATH, and that no return be made to any writs of *habeas corpus* directed to any officer of the provincial Courts or to any natives not resident in the island of Bombay, Sir JOHN was yet more

indignant at the direct attempt made to sway him through the letter. The writ of *habeas corpus* to RAM CHUNDER was issued, but the delivery opposed by a guard of infantry placed over his house by Government! The officer then applied for assistance to the Civil Magistrates, who were also H. M. Justices of the Peace: it was refused in consequence (as one of them stated in writing) of instructions received from Government. The Court continued to pause before it adopted its ultimate measure. An intermediate process was issued, to be served on the person of RAM CHUNDER: access was prevented by violence, and it was then left at his house—which according to forms of law is deemed good service. Sufficient time elapsed, and he made no appearance. The Court then directed a writ of attachment to the Governor in Council against the defendant, that they might execute it by such persons as they thought fit. The Government returned for answer, that it intended to adhere to its original resolution.

Before the death of Sir HARCOURT CHAMBERS, an appeal to the Privy Council had been contemplated by the two Judges, on the subject of Government interference. While it was in preparation the Chief Justice died, and Sir JOHN GRANT preferred the appeal himself, on mature consideration. When the reply of the Governor, to which we have just above referred, was received by the Court, Sir JOHN GRANT transmitted a copy of his petition to the Privy Council to Government, categorically demanding to be distinctly informed—First, "whether it was their intention, as Governor and Council of Bombay, to resist, or cause to be resisted, by means of the military force at their disposal, or otherwise, the execution of the writs of the King, or any other process which the Supreme Court of Judicature of Bombay should issue, and which it should deem to be lawful within any part of the territories subject to the Government of Bombay. Secondly:—whether it was their intention, in any case of the issuing any such writ or process, to withhold their best aid and assistance in the execution thereof, when the same should be demanded under authority of the Court." The Government replied shortly that they adhered to their original determination. On the 21st April 1829, accordingly, Sir JOHN GRANT communicated to the Bar and the Public that the Supreme Court had ceased on all its sides, and that he should perform none of the functions of a Judge in it until the Court received an assurance that its authority would be respected, and its processes obeyed and rendered effectual by the Government of the Presidency. The moment this was done, Sir JOHN appealed also to the Governor General of India in Council, but that authority declined to interfere, on the ground that appeal had already been made to CÆSAR, and besides that it was probable the decision of the Privy Council would arrive before the Government of India could come to one on the merits of the case. When this answer was received by Sir JOHN GRANT, he felt he had done all he could "to avoid exposing the Court and the public to the dangers attendant on the sitting of a Court in ignorance what process it may issue to which obedience can be enforced, and what to which opposition shall be offered, by the connivance, or by the authority and command, of the Military Government, which is bound by law to aid, assist, and obey it." The Supreme Court was therefore re-opened on the 17th June, when Sir JOHN gave a close *resume* of the dispute in an address to the Grand Jury. Simultaneously arrived the celebrated letter to Sir JOHN MALCOLM from Lord ELLENBOROUGH, which, read over now, after our recent experience of that eccentric nobleman, exhibits the unity of his character throughout his public career in unmistakeable colours. It briefly communicated that the law officers of the Crown had *not* given their opinion upon the difference, and then went on—"I believe there is but one opinion in this country as to the conduct of the Supreme Court. Their law is considered bad law; but their errors in matters of law are nothing in comparison with those they have committed in the tenor of their speeches from the Bench." Not so bad this from one whose proclamations from the musnud were infinitely more indecorous! "In the mean time the king has, on *my* recommendation, made your Advocate-General, Mr DEWAR, Chief Justice. *I* advised this appointment, because that gentleman appears to have shewn ability and discretion during the late conflict with the Supreme Court, and because he appears to take a right view of

the law, and to be on terms of confidence with you. *I* thought the putting him over Sir J. GRANT's head would do more to notify public opinion than any other measure I could at once adopt; and you have him in action two months sooner than you could have any other sent from here." Again we have the foreshadowing of Ferozepore festivities and embroidered coats in the following passage. "As it will not be right that the Chief Justice alone should not be knighted, we must consider in what manner that can best be effected. I believe it may be done by patent; but my present idea is to empower you, as Governor, to confer the honour of knighthood on Mr DEWAR. This will evidently place the Governor above the Court. It will mark you out as the King's representative. *You may make the ceremony as imposing as you please.*" As to the point in issue, the President writes—'Perhaps the opinions of the law-officers, and those which I may obtain of the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Justice, may be sufficient to induce Sir JOHN GRANT to revise his notions of law. At any rate no more mischief can happen, as he will be like a wild elephant led away between two tame ones." The postscript is characteristic—"I am going to send you a very excellent new Bishop whenever Dr JAMES resigns—Mr J. M. TURNER."

This letter, on its receipt, was read out to a large party at Sir JOHN MALCOLM's breakfast table, and afterwards, it is affirmed, sent to the wild elephant for his special edification. It immediately found a way into the papers, and was the theme of the comment it deserved, alike to the Press of India and that of England. Sir JOHN GRANT was not however so soon muzzled; no official intimation of the new appointments reaching the Presidency till the 11th September 1829, when the arrival of Sir WILLIAM SEYMOUR and the installation of Sir JAMES DEWAR lightened the responsibility of Government. Within three months afterwards Sir WILLIAM fell a victim to the climate, and the odds on which Lord ELLENBOROUGH relied had been diminished. In the meanwhile however, Sir JOHN had sent his resignation, and applied for early relief from the home authorities—a natural step under the circumstances of his defeat and supercession. The intelligence however of his closing the Court had previously reached England, and he had been immediately recalled, pending a formal inquiry into his conduct.

We may now shift the scene to parliament. The approaching termination of the East India Company's Charter gave some zest to party consideration of so indecorous a conflict as that between the executive and judicial authorities in Bombay; and though at first little notice was paid to the events themselves, yet the publication of Lord ELLENBOROUGH'S letter awoke the strife of party in the Houses. Lord DURHAM, in the Peers, and Mr P. STEWART, in the Commons, brought the matter under discussion. The conclusion seemed generally to be—that the Judges were strictly conscientious in their interpretation of the law, though not correct in it, nor consequently justified in pushing matters to such extremity as they did. On the other hand, the Government of Bombay received a larger portion of censure for acting in the way it did, which tended more than anything else to exasperate the hostility between the authorities. Leading lawyers pointed out that the constitutional line would have been to publish a proclamation, suspending the clauses on which the Judges relied, and then applying for indemnity to Parliament, where the expediency of the step would weigh in obtaining it, although it could not with the Judges, in influencing them to transgress against what under their interpretation of the law seemed their duty. In these debates Mr O'CONNELL, then member for Clare, stoutly supported the line taken by the Judges, and so did MACKINTOSH and others of the Whig party. Even Sir CUTLER FERGUSSON, then officially connected with the Court of Directors, impartially divided his praise and blame between the antagonist parties—the tribute of high conscientiousness and intrepidity being conceded to the conduct of Sir JOHN GRANT, though he was esteemed to have committed an error of judgment.

In July 1830, it became known that Sir JOHN purposed retiring from the Bombay Bench, with the intention of practising at the Calcutta Bar. Public feeling evinced itself strongly on the occasion, and in Bombay especially. In Calcutta it was reported a nice sense of professional etiquette would induce the bar to decline the honour of acting with one who had worn the ermine, but if such an opposition

were ever contemplated, it certainly never shewed itself. Legal antiquaries, a precedent-loving race, ferretted out how that Sir EDWARD SUGDEN, when he resigned the office of Irish Chancellor, intended to don the silk gown again, and practise in the Chancery Courts. They told how the idea of his previously immense practice of £20,000 per annum being ravished once more from the bar was so distasteful to the profession that it resolved to fight *pro aris et focis* against an intention so opposed to etiquette and interest. But the Bar of Calcutta entertained no such jealousies, and prepared to welcome one whose recent conduct but added to the well-grounded expectations he gave of illustrating its ranks.

On the 24th July 1830, Sir JOHN GRANT delivered his parting charge to the Grand Jury,—that which we have already taken occasion to quote from. At its conclusion he referred to the arrival of the H. C. Sloop of War *Clive*, with a number of young Abyssinians in the harbour, who, according to popular rumour, were *de facto* slaves, though purporting to be seamen in the Company's service. The Grand Jury made a presentment on the subject, and the affair, which for a time brought Sir CHARLES MALCOLM into so much odium, came under legal inquiry. Its details are foreign to our present subject; suffice it to say that the charge of Sir JOHN GRANT was made the handle to insinuate against him the most malevolent motives in agitating the question. It is ample explanation to say that Sir JAMES DEWAR, who was the confidential friend of the MALCOLMS, was found to coincide entirely with his colleague in thinking the matter deserved strict sifting.

In September Sir JOHN GRANT closed his official career at Bombay. On the 10th an address was presented to him, from the natives of Bombay, signed by upwards of 4,500 respectable members of the community. A full length portrait was subscribed for, which, we believe, now hangs in the Supreme Court of Bombay. A few days afterwards a special address from the higher classes, signed by more than 300 names, expressed in earnest terms their sense of Sir JOHN'S services, and their admiration of his character, presenting him with a service of plate, and soliciting permission to take a full length portrait for the purpose of being placed in some suitable and public situation.

At this moment the Government of Sir JOHN MALCOLM published the following Notification, which requires no comment:—

"In consequence of the tenor of an advertisement published in the public Newspapers, convening a meeting of the Native Inhabitants of Bombay to present an address to Sir J. P. GRANT, 'on the occasion of his resignation of his office of Judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Bombay,' the Honorable the Governor in Council deems it proper to notify, for the information of the natives of the Presidency and the Provinces, that Sir JOHN PETER GRANT has been recalled from Bombay by an order of the King in Council to answer complaints made against him by the Honorable the East India Company."

This desire for painful accuracy was further manifested by another notification, denying the allegations of the address presented to Sir JOHN GRANT, as far as they alluded to the want of confidence reposed in the Company's Courts by the natives! It announced strong protests from the Judges of the Suddur Dewannee and Foujdaree Adalats, and ascribed the allegations alluded to to the "profound ignorance of the individuals who framed and promoted the address!"

On the 21st Sir JOHN GRANT quitted Bombay in the H. C. Steamer *Enterprise*, Lieutenant LYNCH. Upwards of 7,000 persons congregated at the Pier head to offer him their parting salutations, and many boats with natives attended him to the *Enterprise*. On the 16th of October 1830 he arrived in Calcutta; since which date his career has been entirely connected with this presidency. If less eventful it has not been less useful.—*Eastern Star, March* 11.

The above notice of Sir J. P. Grant was published on his retirement from the Bench. The learned Judge was never destined to see the shores of his native land: he died at sea, on board the ship *Earl of Hardwicke*, on the 17th May.

MR. D. H. WILLIAMS, THE GEOLOGIST.

We hear with much regret that Mr D. H. Williams, together with Mr F. B. Jones, his coadjutor on the Geological Survey, fell victims to jungle fever in the field of their labours at Hazareebaugh, on the 15th November. Mr Williams was sent out to this country by the Court of Directors as Mining Surveyor to the Government, on the strong recommendation of Sir Henry de la Beche, by whom he had been selected as a person in every way qualified to examine the resources of our Indian coal fields. He was bred a practical miner, but was early in life taken in hand by Sir Henry de la Beche, under whom he served for many years, first in the geological department of the Ordnance Survey of Great Britain, and subsequently in the Geological Survey itself, when geological researches were made a distinct branch of the public service. Sir Henry de la Beche in his reports has more than once taken care to acknowledge the aid which the survey derived from Mr Williams's acquaintance with the coal-bearing strata. Mr Williams arrived in Calcutta early in 1846, and commenced immediately a course of active labour in the field, which lasted, with but few intermissions, till the day of his death. We believe our Government never had a more untiring servant, one who was more disposed to shorten as much as possible those periods of inactivity which in India are more or less inseparable from labours which have to be carried on in the field. The public has heard little or nothing of Mr Williams's labours, as his reports have never been printed: why we cannot say. Mr Williams leaves a wife and family in England unprovided for, and as he has died in the service of his country as truly as any soldier who ever fell in the trenches, we hope that the Court of Directors will look upon this case as one that calls for a pension.—*Bengal Hurkaru, Nov.* 21.

THE LATE LIEUTENANT W. A. ANDERSON, 1ST BOMBAY FUSILIERS.

This brave young officer was murdered at Mooltan, in company with Mr P. Vans Agnew, on the 21st April. The following brief accounts of his career are from the *Bombay Telegraph and Courier* of the 12th May:—

"The lamented officer belonged to the 1st Bombay Fusiliers. During a service of about ten years, he had held appointments of trust in India and Scinde. In 1843 he was compelled by sickness to visit Europe, where he remained until the Punjaub war started him from Germany *en route* to India. Hearing at Malta of the cessation of hostilities, he turned his steps to Constantinople, and pursued his way, unattended, leisurely and enquiringly, through Persia to Bombay. No man of his standing was more generally known and appreciated, or stood higher in the estimation of the Army. Many—and amongst them no less a man than Sir C. Napier—watched his path with interest, and foretold his future greatness. In Lieut. Anderson, with the chivalrous gallantry of the soldier were combined accomplishments and learning which would adorn the Collegian. He was deeply versed in the literature of his own country, and possessed not only talent, but genius. With powers such as the ablest might envy, he was modest and unassuming—most loved where best known. His ambition was noble, and he entered on this his last course with the hopes which such a mind would naturally entertain. He was the brother-in law and friend of Colonel Outram. The Bombay Army has never numbered in its ranks one worthier of its pride than him whose murdered remains now moulder at Mooltan."

"Poor Anderson belonged to the 1st Bombay European Regiment, and was one of the sons of the Hon'ble Mr Anderson, once the Governor of Bombay. He first came to Scinde in 1843, shortly after the battle of Meanee, to relieve Captain McMurdo in the appointment of Assistant Quarter Master General. This, however, Sir Charles would not permit his doing; but made him a Deputy Collector at Hydrabad. In this situation he proved his worth, having been the first and only Officer who arranged and regulated the confused records of the dethroned Ameers. These of course were in Persian, Arabic, and Scindee principally. Having completed this job he was appointed to the charge of, *I believe*,

Halla, in the interior, where he was not long before he caught the malignant jungle fever of Scinde, and having braved it until he was on the point of death, he was compelled to proceed to Bombay, where he went in 1844, accompanied by Lieut. MACLEOD, of the 20th N. I. He had not been absent many months, when he returned to Scinde perfectly recovered, and was, only a few months previous to the departure of Sir CHARLES NAPIER, sent by him, either on some *political or survey* duty, but I will not be sure, on to the Punjaub. Thither he went, and only a short time ago returned again, went again, and on *returning again*, affording the assistance of his experience to Mr VANS AGNEW, he met his deplorable fate."

MR. JOHN CURNIN, FORMERLY OF THE BOMBAY OBSERVATORY, LATTERLY OF THE CALCUTTA MINT.

THE late Mr CURNIN died at Calcutta on the 2nd July, aged fifty-six years. Mr CURNIN was not only an able and very accomplished man, but he was a man of the most stern integrity and exemplary uprightness. He could not go into the compromising morality of the times, nor endure to look on while his masters were being deluded and plundered, even though some of their own proceedings led to the delusions and the misuses of property or patronage from which they suffered. Had he chosen to sit quietly down, as four-fifths of men would have done, with the means provided him for the performance of the duties assigned to him, and thought of no more than what was required by the regulations of the service and permitted by the implements at his disposal, he might have been to the hour of his death the Company's Astronomer at Bombay, with an income abundantly ample to have provided for his own enjoyments, and for the wants of those he might have left behind him. If little scope was allowed him for earning fame in the position assigned him, the fields of philosophy which he could have cultivated outside were fertile and wide enough to have exhausted his exertions, and ensured them of an abundant harvest of fame. When he returned home penniless and unprovided for, because required here to perform the duties of astronomer with instruments jobbed into his hands such as an astronomer could not approve of, he received, through the Hon'ble M. S. ELPHINSTONE, the appointment at Calcutta, which he lost much as he had done that which he previously enjoyed—he was too uncomplying to go into the usages which time had sanctioned, but which had no other sanction but that of time. The homage which is its due yielded to sterling honesty and worth such as this, is an honor to those who bestow as much as to those who receive it: it shows that however rarely it may be imitated, it is not unappreciated or unsympathized with; and that many can admire though few can attempt, the exertions and the sacrifices he was ever ready to make to sound principle. Though it is now nearly twenty years since Mr CURNIN left Bombay, there are many yet amongst us to whom he was well known—all are familiar with his character.—*Bombay Times, August* 12.

THE LATE J. G. TAYLOR, ESQ., H. C. ASTRONOMER AT MADRAS.

IT is with deep regret we observe, in the overland obituary, the name of J. G. TAYLOR, Esq., the H C Astronomer, who left Madras on the 14th March last, in a very precarious state of health. A strong sense of duty detained this gentleman at his post, contrary to the advice of his Medical attendant and friends; and it was only on the completion of his last volume of observations that he would resign it to other hands. Mr TAYLOR has left a lasting monument of his zeal and industry in the seven volumes of the "Madras Observations," the merits of which are for future astronomers to recognize to the fullest extent. We venture to affirm that, when subjected to the severe scrutiny with which such works are finally examined, the result will be highly honorable to Mr TAYLOR's fame. His Catalogue of Stars, in the sixth volume of the "Madras Observations," includes all the Astronomical Society's and Piazzi's Catalogues, together with 3,445 Southern Stars, amounting to 14,460, reduced to the 1st July 1835, the middle period of the

observations. In 1840, a systematic error of division in the Mural circle was detected, and its amount ascertained for each division —(a most laborious work, probably requiring 20,000 examinations)—the place of each star having been corrected for the error of division in which it was observed. This is doubtless one of the most valuable Catalogues in existence. The Council of the Astronomical Society, in noticing this work, have observed that from Mr TAYLOR'S known zeal and industry "they are well prepared to believe that it will soon be characterised as a valuable addition to Sidereal Astronomy, and an indispensable aid to the Southern Astronomer. In private life, Mr TAYLOR was distinguished by benevolence and strict integrity, and an ardent love for his profession, which even severe and protracted illness could not lessen. His knowledge on most subjects was varied and extensive, and of a highly practical nature. To those who shared his intimacy he was ever an agreeable and steady friend; and his loss will be long felt by all who had an opportunity of appreciating his character. He lived but to be reunited to his family for the short term of three days, during which time he experienced the loss of an only daughter, who expired after a short illness, and within 12 hours after his arrival. Mr TAYLOR died at Southampton on the 4th May.—*Madras Athenæum, July* 4.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL WILCOX, 68TH BENGAL N. I.

WE deeply regret to hear of the decease of this estimable officer at Cawnpore, on the 25th October. His personal qualities and social character to all that knew him will sufficiently account for the sorrow with which the intelligence has been received by a large circle of acquaintance, but his high scientific accomplishments deserve more than an ordinary obituary notice. The unaffected modesty, which seemed not merely to shun indulgence in that cant of technicalities which is too much the fashion of the day, but really to be ignorant of its purpose and advantage, prevented the casual observer from estimating to a fair degree his enthusiasm for science, as well as his solidity and readiness in such departments as had become his favorite pursuit. But any body who sought to consult his mental stores in good faith was soon enlightened as to their real value, and charmed by the frankness and warmth with which their assistance was afforded. Circumstanced as he was, in the Observatory of Lucknow, the greater part of his career was passed in labour, the results of which have never seen the light, and their late publication, if it ever do occur, will remove their interest still more than it diminishes their usefulness. Yet we hope that some means will be found of placing the digested records of that splendidly endowed establishment in the hands of the astronomical world, if only to do justice to the memory of a man whose administration of the Observatory we have heard disappointed people denounce as an unmitigated job. Col. WILCOX in early life was attached to the trigonometrical survey, and in company with the knot of officers who were educated under LAMBTON, formed, some twenty to twenty-five years ago, a part of the phalanx of the Asiatic Society that upheld its scientific repute, *pari passu*, with the literary workmen who so largely advanced its oriental reputation. Along with HERBERT, PEMBERTON, FISHER, and others, his name appears in the old *Gleanings in Science*, and the earliest *Journals of the Asiatic Society*, which JAMES PRINSEP founded upon HERBERT'S modest but most useful miscellany. His subordinate position entailed much labour upon him, and gave him little leisure for abstract speculation. The readiness with which he undertook and discharged the "lowliest duties," as the heavy drudgery of the observations and computations may be called, rewarded him by a fund of practical knowledge that had he fairly been launched into scientific controversy would have made him a formidable antagonist. Men are too apt to imagine that possession of the higher powers of imagination is incompatible with familiarity with details, or ability to elicit and master them. But in the Severer Knowledge this is no less baseless a creed than in poetry or the strife of worldly wisdom. On HERBERT'S untimely death, Colonel WILCOX was appointed to succeed him at Lucknow in charge of the Royal Observatory. A recent number

of the Asiatic Society's Journal discloses the difficulties he experienced in finding a way by which his observations should be made accessible to the world: political etiquette and an impoverished treasury baffled him, and the steady labour of near twenty years, conducted against great difficulties, successively sifted, studied and overcome, is doomed to have its results still hid from light. We trust this will not continue for long. The chief astronomical struggle of the present day is that of the observer with his instruments: he has long passed the æra of broad principles and great discoveries, and to progress further requires extreme delicacy in the machine handled, and superior tact and knowledge in the handler. Wonderful as is the execution of our artists in metal and glass, yet when their workmanship is tested against that immutable and perfect handiwork of the Eternal Artist which it is the astronomer's province to study, imperfections are daily evinced that to sensitive and impulsive men are almost maddening. In the pure forms of the intellect, the astronomer seeks refuge from the defects of the actual; and aided by the mystic hieroglyphics of the mathematician, he sits down patiently to the analysis of these defects, to the taming of his Bucephalus. From the jumble of incongruities, he singles out possible individual causes, calculates their effects, and then tests the correctness of his calculation by sidereal experiment. For this task he demands constitutional ingenuity of thought, facility in combination, and habitual familiarity with all the resources of mathematical science. Those who have read BESSEL'S history of his battle with the Konigsberg circle, or the chronicles of the Cape transit, which literally broke the heart of one astronomer and was nearly abandoned in despair by another who has since inscribed his name imperishably in the scroll of astronomical worthies under that of BESSEL—will thoroughly understand the character of such a conflict. And such a conflict it was Colonel WILCOX had to wage with his instruments. In it he was ultimately victorious, and the records of the struggle should to a certain extent be accessible to the astronomical world, because it is in the study of such campaigns that the young observer picks up his most useful hints on their conduct by himself. The paraphernalia of the Lucknow Observatory, besides, are of that princely magnitude that the digested results of all the observations completed there are of interest even in the present state of the science, and we believe Colonel WILCOX superintended their reduction himself with infinite care. On these grounds, we hope that our Government will take measures which may ensure their publication, as well for their own merits, as on behalf of the scientific character of an able and esteemed officer.—*Eastern Star, November 4.*

THE LATE DR. J. W. T. JOHNSTONE.

WITH a regret which is shared by half the community of Madras, we record the decease of Dr. J. W. T. JOHNSTONE, who died on Saturday night last, after an illness of more than six weeks' duration. To that large class who appeal rather to the sympathy than to the interest of the medical practitioner, his death has come in the shape of a real calamity, whilst those who could appreciate, at their true value, moral excellences, and high mental acquirements, feel that they have parted from one whose loss cannot easily be repaired. In the brief snatches of leisure which could be spared from the necessity of visiting the rich, and the self imposed duty of attending upon the poor, he occupied himself in investigating the recondite truths of science, and would no doubt, had he been spared, have made large accessions to our store of medical knowledge. He was descended from a respectable family in Dumfriesshire, and greatly distinguished himself during his collegiate career in Edinburgh, where he obtained the University medal for a dissertation upon a difficult subject. After his graduation, he became the assistant of the talented Professor Simpson, with whom he remained associated for a year, when, yielding to the recommendation of his friends, he came out to Madras, four years since, as a private practitioner. A correspondent, who had known him from the outset of his career, and whose eulogy is but the honest payment of a debt of heartfelt respect, shall tell the rest of his brief history:—"Notwithstanding the difficulties he had to encounter, and the discouraging opposition he had to

contend with on his first arrival, the lapse of two years found him enjoying a good practice, which has ever since been steadily increasing, and had long exceeded the most sanguine expectations of himself and his friends. The bright promise of professional eminence held out by his success in the commencement of his career as physican has been fully realised, while those who have been benefited by the exercise of his medical skill can also bear ample testimony to his gentlemanly deportment, frankness, and amiability. Dr. JOHNSTONE had been ailing for some time before the alarming symptoms of an acute inflammation of the liver discovered themselves, but his anxiety about some patients, in whom he felt particularly interested, combined with an aversion to any interuption in the practice of his profession, to which he was devoted, prevented a timely attention to his own physical state. In his decease, the Society of Madras has lost a useful member, and the medical faculty a bright ornament." It only remains to be noticed that a crowd of voluntary mourners paid a last tribute of respect to the remains of their physician and friend.—*Madras Athenæum, August* 22.

THE LATE LIEUTENANT W. CHRISTOPHER, I. N.

AMONGST our obituary notices will be found one of the demise of Lieutenant W. CHRISTOPHER, of the Indian Navy, who died of his wounds at Mooltan on the night of the 8th October. Mr CHRISTOPHER was an officer of extensive general information and much enterprize. In 1841, when in command of the *Constance*, he accompanied the Shoa Mission considerably beyond Ankobar. In 1842, while on survey duty on the coast of Africa, he made a journey some way into the interior and came upon a magnificent stream, which he called by the name of Haines' River, the debouchure of which has never been discovered—nor indeed do we possess any more information about it than what is conveyed by the short intimation lately made known to us by Lieutenant CRUTTENDEN, unless it be the same as that described by Sir W. HARRIS in the work on Æthiopia. On his return to Bombay in 1843, Lieutenant CHRISTOPHER was placed in charge of the steamers on the Indus under Captain POWELL; and in 1847-48 was employed in ascertaining how high up the Sutlej, Indus, Chenaub, and Ravee, might be navigated by steam. The results of his investigations have just been published by the Bombay Geographical Society. In July, Lieutenant CHRISTOPHER pushed up the Chenaub with the steamer *Conqueror*, and immediately joined the camp of Lieutenant EDWARDES, where the accession of an English officer of skill and enterprise,—though not a soldier,—and the presence of an armed steamer in the river close by, was a matter of no inconsiderable moment. Meanwhile two other steamers had been sent up to assist in the movements of the troops on the Chenaub, —a like number being employed in similar fashion on the Indus betwixt Bahawulpore and Ferozepore. On the 10th August he joined the camp of General WHISH, to whom he was able to give a large amount of valuable information in reference to the state of affairs around Mooltan, and the operations in progress since the 19th June. He continued with the advancing column till they took up a position on the 19th August, and from this time was engaged betwixt the army and the river, in contributing whatever assistance the steamers under his charge could afford. The following letter, written on the 26th September to a brother officer in Bombay; gives particulars of the manner in which his wound was received. Colonel PATTOUN, it will be remembered, was one of those who fell on the occasion. Poor CHRISTOPHER considered himself quite well at the time he wrote, and expected that by the 13th October he would be fit for duty: before this he had been four days in his grave!

"*Extract from a letter dated 26th September, Mooltan.*—The way in which I got my wound was this. I was in the trenches, during an operation at night going on to take up more ground to the front. There was much firing. An officer came from the Colonel commanding the operations, in great haste, saying Colonel PATTOUN wanted two more companies of the 10th to be sent to him immediately. The companies were fell in, and the officer commanding them said, I am ready,

who will shew me the way? He repeated the question again, who will shew me the way? I then stepped forward and said, I will shew you the way. He said, I place myself under your guidance. Consequently I guided the companies up to the Colonel and said to him, I have brought you two companies of the 10th. Thanking me, he waved his sword, and spiritedly harangued the men. We moved forward in a body until we were under a sharp fire. ——— said, scatter: let every man seek cover, and advance in skirmishing order. All seemed confusion, so I took myself to the right. Two Europeans accompanied me, but not caring for them I soon missed them and dodged among trees, approaching cautiously the enemy's post. An unsuccessful attempt at storm cost us many European and Native lives. I got up to it, and found it a high walled place, which men could not get over without ladders. I did not stop long, but walked hurriedly away, stopping unfortunately at the corner of a mud wall for a minute to have another look. I distinctly heard a musket fired by a fellow through a door-way, and the ball struck my foot. A young officer had been with me for some minutes: I begged of him to help me to the rear, supporting me as well as he could, and I hopping, for the leg was broken. We met other assistance shortly. I think my wound will be quite well by the 13th October. Powell, who was up here, behaved like a brother. I have been treated here with the greatest kindness, and have a very clever medical man: all danger is over. I was delirious at first for four or five days continually, but am now, thank God, all right."

Amputation was found indispensible, and the operation was performed while the patient was under the influence of chloroform. The wound, however, did not promise to heal, and mortification having made its appearance, a second amputation was thought advisable. This, however, like the first, proved of no avail: Mr CHRISTOPHER continued to suffer terribly—delirium ensued, and on the 8th October he was relieved by death from his sufferings. It has been already stated that when in command of the schooner *Constance* he accompanied the Shoa Mission in 1841 up the Bay of Ankobar, and continued a considerable way with them on their journey. He died a few hours before the head of the mission—the late Sir W. HARRIS—breathed his last.—*Bombay Bi-Monthly Times, November* 2.

THE LATE LIEUTENANT-COLONEL WILLIAM HAVELOCK, K. H.,

H. M.'s 14TH LIGHT DRAGOONS.

THE LATE LIEUTENANT-COLONEL WILLIAM HAVELOCK, K. H., H. M.'s 14th Dragoons, who was killed at Ramnuggur on the 22nd November, was the eldest of four brothers who lived to come to man's estate. Of these, the third died of fever at Vittoria in Spain whilst serving with the Legion under Sir DE LACY EVANS, and the second and fourth are unto this day a Lieutenant Colonel and a Major in the British Army. The officers enumerated were the sons of WM. HAVELOCK, Esq., who resided successively at Ford, near Sunderland, in the County of Durham, at Ingress Park in Kent, at Box Hill in Gloucestershire, and latterly in the town of Teignmouth in Devonshire. Their mother was the great niece of WM. ETTRICK, Esq., of High Barnes, Durham, where his successors still live. He married a daughter of RICHARD WHARTON, Esq., member for Durham. If the parish records of Grimsby in Lincolnshire, which derive some support from a passage in CAMDEN'S *Britannia Rediviva*, speak the truth, the HAVELOCKS are not men of yesterday in England,—the first of the name being stated to have come to the country in the suite of CANUTE THE GREAT, to have done good service in his wars, and to have been seized of a manor in the county last mentioned. The great-grandfather of the present elders of the family condescended to other avocations than the profession of arms, since his name appears in the list of losers by the Great South Sea Bubble. WM. HAVELOCK, the father of the subject of this notice, was also engaged in commercial pursuits in the town of Sunderland, from which neighbourhood, after having much improved his fortune, he migrated in October 1799, and located himself at Ingress

Park in Kent, which place, after having passed successively through the hands of Alderman KIRKMAN, who was killed in Lord GEORGE GORDON'S riots, of one of the Earls of Besborough, and of two of the CALCROFTS, one of whom is well known as a parliamentary debater,—was, at the death of its last previous owner, HENRY DESNEY ROEBUCK, Esq., sold by his executors, together with all the pictures and other works of art with which the taste of its owner had enriched it. Here the late Lieut. Colonel, who was born on the 23rd January 1793, on the day, and about the hour, in which LOUIS THE SIXTEENTH perished on the scaffold, spent his boyish days. He and two of his younger brothers commenced their education under the tuition of the Revd. J. BRADLEY, Curate of the parish of Swanscombe, of which Ingress formed a part; and were in due course removed to the Charter-House, of which the Revd. Doctor MATTHEW RAINE was then the Head Master, —"a man"—justly says an Edinburgh Reviewer on the literary remains of the learned and amiable TWEDDELL—"a man to be praised as often as he is named, and who was only permitted to die unmitred, because his political principles were too liberal to suit the taste of the reigning faction of the day." That the "Young Squire," as he was then called in his neighbourhood in Kent, was not a dull boy, seems sufficiently proved by the fact that he never sunk lower than fourth in a form of upwards of thirty competitors in one of those public seminaries in which a fair field and no favor is given to talent and industry. But WILLIAM HAVELOCK was from his earliest days devotedly attached to the sports of the field, and not only spent the best part of his vacations in head-long career in the wake of a pack of foxhounds, but indulged in day-dreams of this beloved pastime when he ought to have been poring over HOMER and EURIPIDES. So the Muses had somewhat less than half his heart, and were in consequence not so successfully wooed as they might have been. He was moreover at this time an expert fencer, an able cricketer, and for his weight and size a rather unpleasant opponent as a pugilist; and there are gentlemen serving in various lines at this presidency brought up with WILLIAM HAVELOCK in the cloisters of the Charter-House, who still remember his then celebrated contest with an older and much more athletic opponent named MORGAN, who has since grown up into a much-respected clergyman, which ended after night-fall in a drawn battle. Then came the most stirring scenes of the Peninsular War. The young fox-hunter caught the infection, and longed for distinction in sterner fields. As he had at this time the immediate prospect of succeeding to an estate and a tolerably ample fortune, his first proposals on this subject met with little acceptance at home. But he was a favorite son, and his perseverance in his suit was attended with ultimate success. He was on his earnest entreaty somewhat abruptly withdrawn from his studies at the Charter-House, when in the fourth form, and transferred to the care of M. CHARLES MALORTI DE MARTEMONT, a French Royalist, who, like his contemporary LANDMANN, was then a professor in the academy at Woolwich, and like him is well known to military men as the author of several valuable treatises. MALORTI, in addition to his labors in the academy and for the press, found leisure to instruct private pupils in his own house. Here WM. HAVELOCK received his first tuition in the theory of the art military. It is to be feared, however, that the chase and the seductions of the too near Metropolis were in the mind of a youth of sixteen as formidable rivals to VAUBAN, LLOYD, and TEMPELHOFF (we had not JOMINI in 1809,) as they had proved to VIRGIL and THEOCRITUS. But though he never became a very scientific soldier, it would be too much to affirm that young HAVELOCK derived no benefit from his residence on Woolwich Common. Some knowledge of the sciences connected with war he doubtless got from a Professor so well initiated as MALORTI; and some practical ideas of it he picked up from the conversation of one who had (it is believed) served in part of the seven years' war, and certainly was on the losing side with the emigrants in the early campaigns of the French Revolution. HAVELOCK'S father, however, still cherished hopes that his son's military aspirations would go out with other boyish follies; but the youth's resolution was taken,—a soldier he was determined to be, and suspecting that the solicitations to obtain him a commission

were urged with intentional lukewarmness, he, with characteristic decision, cut the knot at once. One of his uncles had served many years in the 43rd light infantry, and with his aid he obtained permission to accompany a reinforcement for the regiment about to embark for the Peninsula, in the capacity of a volunteer. The party of officers who went out with the detachment was large. Amongst them was Colonel HULL, of the 43rd, whose career was destined to be short. The young volunteers embarked at Portsmouth, landed at Lisbon, and marched by Abrantes towards the banks of the Coa, beyond which the light division still lingered, though Massena was coming on with heavy masses, and by rapid strides, to invade Portugal. There were in "CÆSAR'S tenth legion" at this period, besides its commander ROBERT CRAUFURD, some men who have since risen in the service —some who have added reputation to increased rank. Genl. DUFFY was a Capt.; NAPIER the historian, and Col. OGLANDER, were subalterns in the 43rd; Lord SEATON was a field officer in the 52nd; Sir WILLOUGHBY COTTON was the Assist. Adjt.-Genl of the division; Sir HARRY SMITH then, as now, in the old 95th (Rifle Brigade) was one of its Brigade-Majors Sir SIDNEY BECKWITH commanded one of the battalions of the last-mentioned never-to-be-forgotten corps. The detachments reached the Coa just in time for the gallant but fruitless action which CRAUFURD chose to fight upon the wrong bank. Colonel HULL was shot through the heart on the bridge; Captain HULL, his nephew, another of the party from England, was dangerously wounded in the throat; a brother volunteer was slain. The casualties were heavy in all the regiments of the division. This was the first sharp lesson which HAVELOCK received in actual warfare. He was immediately gazetted to a vacant Ensigncy in the 43rd.

Ensign HAVELOCK accompanied the regiment in the memorable retreat to the famous lines of Torres Vedras; and was in the hottest of the fight at Busaco. When MASSENA retired, the light division pressed upon his footsteps. The young Ensign of this period used in after days to speak of Redinha, Condeira, and Sahegal, as amongst the most trying passages of arms in which he had to sustain a part, even after he had survived Toulouse and Waterloo. Wet and frozen bivouacs began in 1811 to produce some effect on the constitution of a yet young stripling, and Lieut. HAVELOCK, after having accompanied Lord WELLINGTON'S army when it fell back before the Prince of ESSLING, and seen him chased again out of Portugal,—and after having taken part in the theatricals and races with which the Peninsular heroes amused themselves in winter quarters, and having acquired the title of "Young Varment," by which he was long known in the Light Division, by his keenness and daring in the saddle, and in every manly sport,—was attacked by rheumatism, and sent by his doctors first to Lisbon, and at last to England. He soon recovered, however: though he was in the paternal mansion at Ingress when Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos were taken, and his schoolfellow, Lieutenant-Colonel MCLEOD of the 43rd, fell in the storm, he reached Spain in time for Salamanca. As the Vittoria campaign progressed, and the army entered on more extended operations than before, it was thought advisable to augment the Quarter-Master General's department by attaching to it intelligent young officers, whose business it was to ride at the bidding of the Assistants of Divisions always the whole day, and sometimes half the night,—work hard, and give no opinions,—to carry their lives in their hands, and set a very low value upon good horseflesh when used in the service of the State. This was the first introduction of HAVELOCK to staff employ. He was appointed to aid Major, now Major-Genl., CHARLES BECKWITH, the Assistant Quarter-Master-General of the Light Division.—Young, active, enterprizing, an excellent rider, and well mounted, WILL was in his element, and if a message was to be carried to a point close to swarms of the enemy's light troops, or a column to be communicated with across a country which few but a fox-hunter could properly negotiate, *Varment* was sure to be selected for the task. It was whilst thus employed that he took that leap over the enemy's *

* A writer in one of the newspapers has made it a ditch. Few good riders haggle at a ditch, but an abbatis of trees, with their trunks towards their friends, and their branches spread out towards the foe, is a less manageable obstacle.

abbatis at the head of GIVAR's Spaniards, which NAPIER has rendered famous in his history. HAVELOCK used in his latter days to express his gratification at the historian with whom he had served in the 43rd, having remembered this little fact, but ventured to think that there were acts of his in this war more worthy of celebration, but which he was content to have forgotten, "caveat quia vate sacro." It may be here mentioned that the anecdote in the memoir of Captain COOKE, (another brother officer) of the youth who rode down a horse between the contending armies, is believed to appertain to WILLIAM HAVELOCK. The French were driven across their own frontier, and the sacred soil invaded; and, after the finishing struggle at Toulouse, our Lieutenant, who had been acting some time on the personal staff of Sir CHARLES ALTEN, who had succeeded to the command of the Light Division after CRAUFURD's death, returned with the General to England. ALTEN was nominated to a high command in the Cautionary Army kept up in Belgium under the PRINCE OF ORANGE, and HAVELOCK was appointed his Aide-de-Camp. After a few weeks spent with his family at Brighton, he embarked at Ramsgate and was soon at Ghent. It was here that his skill, acquired from the lessons of ANGELLO at the Charter-House, and of ROLAND at MALORTI'S, was put to an unexpected proof. Billiards had been the amusement of the evening, when at one of the tables a difference of opinion arose between our Lieutenant, now about twenty-two, and a Belgian officer. Heated with wine, and full of the gasconade of his country, suddenly "le brave Belge," on very slight provocation, unsheathed his sabre, and bid the young Englishman draw and defend himself. As British officers are not generally great masters of their swords, and very commonly at this time preferred to foreign antagonists the settlement of causes of private war with pistols, HAVELOCK's opponent looked a little surprised at the readiness with which he handled his weapon, and the appearance of science with which he took his ground. He made, however, a desperate cut at the head of the Englishman, but his amazement was probably encreased when he found it quickly parried, and himself in an instant

"Stretched by a dexterous sleight along the floor."

Aid was quickly brought to the bleeding Belgian; and he fortunately recovered of the rather awkward abdominal incision received in the fray.

The Allied forces in Belgium were not destined to enjoy a lengthened repose. NAPOLEON had landed at Frejus, and Europe united in arms against him. When the re-partition of the DUKE of WELLINGTON'S army was complete, Sir CHARLES ALTEN found himself in command of its third Division, which, besides its British troops, had in it one or more brigades of Hanoverians under Count KEILMANSEGGE. ALTEN was destined to take an early part in the contest. His division was one of three which came up in time to aid in the repulse of NEY at Quatre Bras, and here HAVELOCK, who, well acquainted with a country over every part of which he had hunted, had in drawing the troops together, surpassed his former feats by the length and celerity of one of his rides, was now for the first time wounded. A musket ball struck him on the chin, and though it fractured no bone, caused much laceration, and painful swelling. He returned to the field after obtaining some assistance from one of the Surgeons, and was throughout the 17th in the saddle, and by the side of his beloved General in the great action of the 18th. Towards the middle of this awful combat, Sir CHARLES was severely wounded in the thigh, and was finally compelled to return to Brussels. HAVELOCK, after seeing him to a place of safety, accompanied the march of the army to Paris.

His services in this campaign were rewarded with the Cross of Knight of the Hanoverian Order,—the only decoration, excepting the Waterloo medal, which he ever received. The Guelphic Order had not then become, as it was afterwards, the guerdon of British officers generally. It belonged exclusively to the Kingdom of Hanover, and Lieutenant the Baron VON ORTEN, 16th Lancers, A. D. C. to Baron VICTOR ALBA, and Lieutenant HAVELOCK, 43rd Light Infantry, A. D. C. to Baron CHARLES ALTEN, were the only officers holding British commissions who received it in the grade of subaltern under that of field officer. This distinction

they owed to serving with Generals who had rank in the Hanoverian as well as British army, and had Hanoverians brigaded with their British troops. The fire of the field of Waterloo was the last which HAVELOCK was destined to come under until his closing scene at Ramnuggur.

His hopes of immediate promotion to a company after Waterloo, would perhaps have been realized if he had not been unfortunately detained at Paris, when it was his wish personally to have pressed his claims in England. A drunken ruffian, who disgraced the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, mistaking him for another person, rushed one morning into his house on one of the bulwarks, and struck him. The assailant would listen to no explanation, nor refrain from his brutal assault, and HAVELOCK was, first, in self-defence, compelled to give him a sound and unmistakeable thrashing, and then, to clear up the matter, arraign him before a general court-martial. The delinquent was dismissed the service, but the time lost in his prosecution would have been more profitably spent in bringing the claims of the young Lieutenant to notice at home. When he found leisure to apply in person, the tide in the affairs of men had begun to ebb. HAVELOCK'S private prospects had also materially changed between the period of his entering the army and the battle of Waterloo. During the latter part of the war his father had been as unfortunate in his mercantile speculations as he had been favored in earlier years. By about 1813 his "noble" was, like that of the Venetian, well-nigh "reduced to nine pence"; and prudence dictated the sale of his estate at Ingress. He parted with it fortunately to great advantage. The Navy Board were the purchasers on the part of Government, which at this time entertained the plan of constructing a naval arsenal to rival or far surpass NAPOLEON'S works at Antwerp, in the neighbourhood of North Fleet on the right bank of the Thames. Still, however, enjoying competency though no longer wealthy, the young Lieutenant's father did not forget the matter of his son's promotion. But it was delayed by the unfortunate detention at Paris already adverted to in this narrative.

Whilst our armies continued to occupy France under the treaty, our Lieutenant was never able to obtain permanent staff employment, and had, as is usual with young men who have been so employed, grown a little saucy about regimental duty. Much of his time was therefore spent in visits to Paris and London, Bath, Clifton, and Cheltenham, and the quiet but handsome country house which his father about this time rented in Gloucestershire. Much money HAVELOCK spent at this period, pleasantly enough he thought, amidst the gaieties of all the places of his occasional sojourn, but without doubt most unprofitably. When near his regiment in country quarters in France, he commonly either acted as A. D. C. to Sir JAMES KEMPT, or some other of the Generals who had known him in the Peninsula, or was attached as an acting Adjutant to some bodies of light infantry, or in some way employed in which his activity on his horse and his growing intelligence might be made useful. When he made vacation of it, and this was often, he whipped-in a pack of hounds hunted by the present Governor of the Cape, then Town-Major of Cambray; coursed with his friend, the late Colonel EALES, of the Rifle Brigade; or rode races, or made matches on the turf with General CHURCHILL, who fell at Maharajpore, then on the staff of the Cautionary Army, and other choice spirits of the day. Two rather extraordinary incidents are remembered of him whilst spending this erratic life. Several of the branches of the Scheldt are near their source exceedingly narrow. A party of officers of various ranks, and some persons of distinction, were riding near one of them one day. Amongst them was the present Duke of BEAUFORT, then Marquis of WORCESTER, when it was suggested that it was just possible for a good rider, well mounted, to leap over this renowned river. Much discussion followed, and bets were offered. WILL HAVELOCK listened to the conversation, and his eyes began to light up at the notion of thus crossing the Scheldt. He laid no wager, and seemed impatient of the dispute, but, suddenly turning his horse so as to give him the advantage of the narrow previous career between the river and a parallel canal, he clapped spurs to the animal, and put his head

straight to the stream. In a moment horse and rider were in the air. WILL cannot be said to have achieved the leap, for his horse came with his chest against the further bank, and rolled back into the stream, whilst the sportsman, not quite in fox-hunting style, scrambled over the steed's ears, and, grasping the margin, seated himself on firm ground in triumph on the other side. He then threw himself in his clothes into the river, and brought out in safety his struggling hunter.

Another adventure had well-nigh terminated fatally. WILL and Lieut ROBINSON, of the 43rd, had been dining out when the regiment garrisoned Valenciennes. They returned in a caliche in a dark night. Calling to the sentry at the gate for admittance, they received no reply, and HAVELOCK, growing impatient, leaped out and hurried across the drawbridge, ignorant that the inner portion of it was drawn up at night to prevent smuggling. In a moment he plunged into the broad and deep ditch of the place. He was an able swimmer, but the night was dark, and from the lock of a canal over his head water was rushing down into the fosse like a mill-stream. The immersed soldier strove boldly with the water, but there were fearful odds against him. The loud halloas of his companion at length brought the sentry to the spot. Then the bridge was slowly lowered down, and soldiers dispatched to the distant barracks for ropes and lanthorns. Meanwhile the struggling officer swam about in water of a deadly chill, or, nearing the scarp, got his fingers into little holes in it, fearfully lacerating them, and so rested a while painfully for breath. At length came aid: a rope was thrown down to the drowning man, but he called out from below that assistance had arrived too late—that he was too much exhausted to seize the cord. His strength was just failing, and he still floated—he had plunged once already, and the next plunge would be his last. A hundred Napoleons were offered to any soldier that would go down; but none would venture into that dark and wintry water. "Then put the rope round me," exclaimed young ROBINSON. It was fastened tight under his arms. He was let down, seized his exhausted friend, and both were hauled up into the slope of the parapet. Life was saved; but it was many a day before even the strong constitution of WILL HAVELOCK got over the consequences of this nocturnal immersion. Whilst the army was still cantoned in France, HAVELOCK was gazetted into a company by purchase in the 32nd foot, in which he is still kindly remembered by some of the conquerors of Mooltan. He joined it in Corfew in the Ionian Islands, after lingering long in London and other places of gay resort. The insular society was little to his taste, though he liked his new regiment much. At this period he received much kindness from Sir FREDERICK ADAM, whom he had met in France and Belgium; and made the acquaintance of, and was much patronised by, one of the most extraordinary men of his age, Sir THOS. MAITLAND, then High Commissioner of the Islands. But there was no fox-hunting in Corfew, and WILL HAVELOCK'S restless spirit carried him back through Italy, where he toured for some time with "King Tom," as MAITLAND, the autocrat of Ceylon and of the Mediterranean, was wont to be called; and, taking his leave of him at Geneva, returned to England. Then came the chase in Dorsetshire; flirtations with sundry admired ones in various locations; and visits to Teignmouth, where his father had begun now to wear away his old age. Finally he returned, *malgré lui*, to his Islands; and having been appointed extra A. D. C. to Sir MANLEY POWER, led at Malta a life pretty much to his taste.

His next visit to England was followed by a calamitous occurrence. His father had vested a considerable portion of his fortune in mortgages, and in life annuities granted and secured by the mortgagers through the agency of Messrs HAWARD and GIBBS, Bur ington Gardens. By their sudden failure Mr. HAVELOCK lost a serious sum, and his three sons, then in the army, seeing their hopes of advancement in their profession thus blighted, and feeling that England, with its attendant expence, was no longer a home for them, went to India in three several regiments in the years 1821, 1822, and 1823

Captain W. HAVELOCK exchanged into the 4th Light Dragoons, and with it embarked for Bombay, and began his Indian career at Kaira in

Goozerat,—afterwards too well known for the unhealthiness of a climate which annually decimated the European force. He was here brought to the very verge of death by fever, in the house of Mr DeVitre, of the civil service. His medical attendants had declared that there was no longer any hope; the Chaplain had administered the holy sacrament; those who lingered at the bedside of the sufferer were only waiting for his last groan, when he suddenly turned round and declared that he felt a revival of strength, and expressed in almost unintelligible accents his assurance that a cordial would recover him. The announcement was received with a mournful half-checked shake of the head. But a draught was administered, the patient got stronger, shook off the fever and in ten days was training his race-horses on the Kaira course! He often declared afterwards that, perfectly prepared to die, he never in his life felt such inward tranquillity as in the interval between the farewell visit of the Chaplain and his sudden and surprising revulsion towards recovery.

He was soon after appointed Aid-de-Camp to the gallant and worthy Commander-in-Chief of this presidency in that day, Sir Charles Colville. He returned to Bombay, plunged into all its gaieties—raced, danced, flirted, played, got pretty handsomely into the books of his agent, and then paid a visit with his General to Poona, which was destined to be memorable in his annals,—for there he fell in love with, and soon after married, the niece of William Chaplin, Esq., a Madras Civilian, but holding the high employment of Commissioner of the countries recently conquered from the Peishwa.

Matrimony can tame even spirits like those of W. Havelock. He became in some respects, and gradually, an altered man—that is, he thought of the future, reduced his expences, and parted with his racers, though he still clung fondly to the darling amusement which had with him succeeded to the fascinations of the fox-chase, viz., hunting the wild hog. This sport he still followed with avidity, and the sportsmen of the day will be able to verify or contradict the assertion which we have heard made—that he was one of the not very many who have succeeded on the parched plains of the Deccan in riding down without aid a black buck. Whatever may be the truth of this story, we suppose that Colonel Outram and others are living witnesses of Havelock's forwardness in the chace in India; as the Governor of the Cape, and many in England, could still testify that he was certainly a first-ranker in pursuit of the fox. One proof of Havelock's tendency to reform at this period, was his awakened attention to the most useful of the oriental tongues. We suspect that, a smatterer in the classics, he was not more than colloquially ankle deep in French, Italian, Spanish, and German, of all of which he knew something. But he now applied with some diligence to the study of the Hindoostanee and Persian, and passed creditably the examination in each successively.

Perhaps it was in an evil hour that he made this exertion; for his success led to his being appointed to the command of a corps of irregular horse,—a nomination which was looked upon in an unfavorable point of view by the officers of the Bombay army, as invading their exclusive privilege, and which gave rise to memorials to the Court of Directors. Yet, we believe it is not disputed by any, that Havelock elevated the regiment from a very poor state of discipline, in which it had been, whilst paid by the Rajah of Sattara, to a very creditable rank amongst irregular horse. We think, if the honest opinion of a not indifferent judge, Rissaldar Dajee Gourpara, of the Poona Horse, could be arrived at, it would coincide with that which we have expressed. Those who were in high command at the time always spoke of the corps in terms of commendation. But whatever Havelock's qualifications might be for a leader of irregulars, it might have been well for him if he had never coveted the office; for, whilst stationed in Cutch with his corps in 1827, he became involved in a serious personal quarrel with a Lieutenant-Colonel of the Bombay army, the ultimate result of which was, that both parties were dismissed the service by the sentence of a General Court

Martial. HAVELOCK was the next year pardoned by the King, and restored to the functions of his commission, but the Lieut.-Colonel was never, we believe, reinstated. WILL's enemies must, we think, allow that, though this most unfortunate affair reflected little credit on his prudence and command of temper, it left not the slightest stain upon his honor. He suffered severely for his indiscretion, for he had not only a painful ordeal to pass through in India, but a long voyage to make to England in pain of heart and distress of mind, and there was doomed, before he rejoined his rank, to that penal torture of the poet—

"In secresy long to bide."

He, too, who had been nursed in the lap of luxury, and spent thousands in follies and gaieties, was now destined, as his family increased, and his father's fortunes under sad mismanagement steadily declined, to become acquainted with the miseries of the "res angusta domi." But he met his difficulties cheerfully, and returned to India in 1829, where he found his regiment, the 4th light dragoons, located, if we mistake not, in the healthier climate of Kirkee. He was received by them with open arms, and we trust we may add that the general feeling throughout this presidency, amongst civilians and soldiers of either service, was, that in his late trials of much contradiction he had been "more sinned against than sinning."

Under the pressure of much difficulty, HAVELOCK obtained a regimental Majority by purchase, paying heavily for it; and finding himself in the year 1832 so much weighed down by compound interest and premium of insurance as to render some great effort for his emancipation expedient, he, in company with Colonel H. THOMAS, of the 20th Foot, made a rapid journey through Candeish and across the Nerbudda by Indore, Agra, and Gwalior, into the Bengal Provinces, with the view of pressing his interest with one of the peninsular heroes, Sir EDWARD BARNES, in the hopes of Staff employ. This painful pilgrimage led to no result. He was kindly received everywhere, but got nothing. From Cawnpore, where three brothers, who had not seen each other's faces for many years, met, he repaired to Calcutta. Sir W. BENTINCK was civil, but had nothing even to promise. At Madras, Sir FREDERICK ADAM could do as little. In returning by Bangalore to his own presidency, our traveller's journey was nearly being cut short by a severe attack of cholera, which was at that time ravaging Mysore. Recovering, he reached the coast, and, after a tedious voyage in a pattimar, arrived at Bombay. He was afterwards employed on the personal Staff first of Lord CLARE, and again of Sir ROBERT GRANT, whilst Governors of this part of India. But HAVELOCK's health, which had stood early campaigning and dissipation, the fatigues of the camp and the exertions of the chase, and much care and vexation of spirit, and latterly the imprudent habit of making long journeys on horseback under a burning sun, began now to exhibit symptoms of failing; and early in 1836 he was compelled to visit the Cape of Good Hope for its restoration. His friend Sir HARRY SMITH, now Governor, was then Quarter-Master General in the Colony. By him he was introduced to Lord ELPHINSTONE, then on his way out to govern Madras; and HAVELOCK, partially recovered, went on with him to Fort St. George, in the capacity of his Military Secretary. Here he had the opportunity of getting rid of a load of debt, and of a little bettering his fortune. With the kindest of masters, he would have reckoned himself a happy man; but his health continued most unsatisfactory, and two squadrons of the 4th Light Dragoons having proceeded with Lord KEANE under Colonel DALY to Candahar and Cabool, he was deeply mortified at finding himself for the first time in his life left in the background on such an occasion. On the return of his regiment to England, his long and meritorious services were however remembered kindly at the Horse Guards, and he was appointed without purchase 2nd Lieutenant-Colonel of the relieving regiment, the 14th Light Dragoons. It arrived at Kirkee, and thereupon HAVELOCK took the most Quixotic and ill-judged step of his whole life. He left his patron and benefactor; and in a fit of zeal volunteered to join his Corps. Those who are conversant with military affairs in India, and know

how little a second Lieutenant-Colonel can do for the advantage of any regiment, will be aware how strong he oughtato have estimated the reasons in behalf of his remaining in a good appointment at Madras, where he was really useful. The change was made however. and HAVELOCK was serving with cheerfulness and satisfaction under Lieut. Col. TOWNSHEND, when his health once more gave way. His medical advisers feared a fatal result if he did not immediately return to a better climate; and early in 1843 he got hastily on board a steamer, and proceeded up the Red Sea. He reached Gibraltar the mere shadow of a man; but meeting there with a Spanish gentleman, with whom he formed a friendship, he travelled with him through a part of the Peninsula, and visited the scenes of his Wellingtonian days. The tour, and afterwards the healing waters of Vic de Bijorre, in the South of France, where he was joined by his eldest son, so far restored him that he was recognizable by his old light division friends as WILL HAVELOCK, when he set foot again in England; and at the latter end of 1843 we find him hunting with the Duke of BEAUFORT'S hounds. Symptoms of constitutional decay however again manifested themselves, and he was advised to try the celebrated water cure. At Malvern, where he took his aquatic degree, his health was wonderfully restored under the new system, and he remained to the end of his life a strenuous hydropathic. About the time of his return to India Col. TOWNSHEND had revisited Ireland, where he died. HAVELOCK therefore found himself the permanent commander of a splendid regiment of dragoons. His late superior had in the Peninsula been an officer so skilful and so bold that his very faults must be touched on lightly. But it is certain that the reins of discipline had, owing to a cause but too well known, been in his time held with a relaxed hand. Under HAVELOCK the regiment was thought by his superiors rapidly to have regained its efficiency. At the latter end of 1845, when the Seikhs had invaded the British territories, the 14th was put in motion towards the scene of great events, but before it reached the Upper Provinces of Bengal the Battle of Sobraon had been fought. Nothing remained for WILLIAM HAVELOCK but the labours of peace at Umballa. But here he was not only the able and judicious commander, but the friend and adviser of his officers, and kind guardian of the interests of his soldiers and their families. In the cold season of 1847 the regiment was ordered to be pushed on to Ferozepore, and in the spring of 1848 the DEWAN MOOLRAJ of Mooltan struck for independence.

Our narrative therefore draws to a close, and before its last events are recited, we wouldoffer to the reader in a few touches a kind of miniature of him whom the recital endeavours to aid in rescuing from oblivion. WILLIAM HAVELOCK was in stature about five feet seven and a half inches:—

> "For feats of arms or exercise,
> Shaped in proportion fair."

In adolescence and middle age,—until indeed he was broken by an Indian climate,—his frame was wiry and athletic. His seat on horseback was to the end first-rate, though it ever had more of the air of a leading man in Leicestershire than of the artificial graces of the *manegé*. His features were certainly not regularly handsome, but even after fifty, much less in earlier days, were not uncomely; and his eyes, when illuminated by strong excitement, were peculiarly expressive. Being of the lightest blue, they harmonized well with the fair hair of his youth, which gained for him from the Spaniards, as NAPIER has told us, the name of "il chico blanco," and were much admired by the Germans, with whom he often served. We have seen him as a stripling and up to middle age gayest of the gay,—we fear we might add wildest of the wild; but when care and sickness and years had tamed him, his natural sense was strongly developed. He became a kind husband and father—sacrificed every pleasure on the shrine of duty to his family, and as regarded worldly things, might be esteemed to have devoted himself wholly to their good, and that of the service to which he belonged. We may even venture to assert more. From letters of his which were lately received by relatives and friends, it may be believed that he had ceased to

be ashamed of searching the Scriptures of Truth, and it may be hoped that he had even become a true Gospel man, and looked to the mercies of God in a better world through a Redeemer. It is pleasing to have even so much ground of expectation regarding our departed friends—it is well to have even so much ground: but let the remark be pondered on,—*it is terrible to have no more!*

HAVELOCK, though well educated, had very little of literary taste or acquirement. His modes of thinking were exclusively practical, and he had learnt little from books, found little enjoyment in them, and indeed had something of a barbarous contempt for them. He looked upon them as mere bundles of "wise saws and modern instances," and believed that the cream and quintessence of the matter which they contained was to be found in active intercourse with the world. His manners were prepossessing in no ordinary degree; and bore the decided stamp of that good society, as it is called, in which he moved. Though his style of writing was by no means elegant or very clerkly, he could put clear ideas upon paper in strong language, and would have been capable of more in this way if his sense of deficiency in study had not rendered him constantly distrustful of his own powers. His letters as well as his conversation were often most humorous, and sometimes reached up to wit. They never aimed at eloquence. He had a more keen discrimination of human character than he always knew how to express: it was seen in his practice. He lived much with his superiors, but he was no flatterer—and had a thorough contempt for the arts of the toad-eater; and though he had been a great part of his life a devoted admirer of the fair sex, spurned the idea to his latest hour of rising in his profession by petticoat favor and back-stairs influence.

When MOOLRAJ'S rebellion called our troops once more into the field, it was said to have been purposed to send two brigades promptly against him, of which HAVELOCK was to have commanded one. But if ever formed, the intention was abandoned, and the 14th were soon after ordered up to Lahore. The weather was intensely hot, and several of the dragoons died of apoplexy and strokes of the sun. HAVELOCK exerted himself most cheerfully and energetically during the march, and though he felt the fervors of the season, only remarked jocosely "that if ever he worked his way up to a title, he should assume that of Lord SALAMANDER." His health remained good; and all at Lahore considered his dragoons to be in the highest order. He found in the Resident also, Sir FREDERICK CURRIE, a kind friend, as well as an old schoolfellow. When the Singhs made a treacherous attempt to burn our bridge over the Ravee, WILL threw himself upon his horse at Anarkullee with the energy of his younger days, and, galloping to the spot at the head of the picquets, put a stop to the mischief.

We draw near the closing scene. An "Army of the Punjaub" was directed to assemble as the cold season approached, but the 14th did not form a part of it. Colonel CURETON got the rank of Brigadier-General and the command of the whole of the Cavalry. When SHERE SINGH had first deserted our cause, and then, leaving Mooltan, raised the flag of rebellion between the Ravee and the Chenaub, at the head of a powerful force, and our vanguard was pressed forward to observe him, CURETON may be supposed to have been unwilling to leave the corps, which had so nobly served in former days, inactive in Lahore. It is said, we know not exactly with what truth, that he moved the 14th on his own responsibility: howbeit they went on, and HAVELOCK at their head. CURETON pushed SHERE SINGH'S rear guard out of Goojranwalla, and advanced to the vicinity of Ramnuggur.

Soon after, Lord GOUGH took the field, and with a large force of cavalry and infantry reached by a midnight march for the purpose of reconnoitring the margin of the Chenaub. SHERE SINGH was posted on the right bank, with 28 guns entrenched. He had the command of a ford, and by means of boats had free access to a sandy island, also swept by his batteries, in which were infantry covered by entrenchments. Then along his whole front he showed considerable bodies of cavalry, who employed all the arts usual in native armies to induce our cavalry to venture within good range of their heavy well-covered guns.

The Cavalry affair at Ramnuggur is a lesson for soldiers, and to posterity, "whose scales are just." History will hereafter take care that this lesson is not lost. But the facts of the case are not perhaps yet fully known; and were they ever so well ascertained, this is not the time or place for a recital of, or criticism on, the combat at Ramnuggur. Our business is with HAVELOCK only, and to conduct him to the not inglorious termination of his earthly career.

On the morning of the 22d November he seemed a good deal excited. This may be pardoned in an old *Sabreur*, whose enthusiasm had been pent up without vent or safety-valve, in his bosom since the battle of Waterloo. He is said to have worried CURETON with entreaties to be allowed to attack the Seikh horse, who were caracoling in front of the 14th; and more than once to have exclaimed that this day "he hoped to win his golden spurs." Alas! he won nothing but his soldier's grave, and every brave man's sympathy. A troop of our Horse Artillery had, by opening against the right bank, shewed the position of the enemy's guns; and a steady charge of the 3rd Light Dragoons, aided by Light Cavalry, had chastised on one point the presumption of the Singhs. CURETON had given his consent to another body of these being attacked by the 14th; and the Commander-in-Chief, riding up to WILL HAVELOCK, had said—"If you see a favourable opportunity of charging, charge." "The gallant old Colonel," remarks one who was present, "soon *made* the opportunity." And so it was; for not many minutes after, WILL HAVELOCK, "happy as a lover," and sitting as firmly in his saddle as when he overleapt the abbatis on the Bidassoa, placed himself in front of his cherished dragoons, and remarking, "we shall now soon see whether we can clear our front of those fellows or not," boldly led them forward to the onset. All who beheld it have spoken with admiration of the steadiness and the gallantry of this glorious gallop. The Singhs made a shew of standing the charge "*a pied ferme*," and some of them must have stood well, for sabre cuts were exchanged with effect. Captain GALL, whilst grasping a standard, had his right hand cut through by the stroke of a Singh, which he delivered with the hissing sound of an English pavior driving home a stone. Young FITZGERALD's skull was cleft to the brain by another blow from one of the enemy; but the mass of the Seikhs opened out right and left and gave way before their victors.

Thus the first charge seems to have ended, in which HAVELOCK was not even wounded. We pretend not certainly to know by whose order a second was hazarded, but it seems certain that it was executed; and even regarding the first there had been misapprehension, for, as CURETON watched its progress, he exclaimed —"That is not the body of horse I meant to have been attacked;" and, riding to the front, received in his gallant breast a fatal matchlock ball.

We hasten to the end, narrating as it has to us been narrated. Again the trumpets of the 14th sounded, and overturning at first all that opposed them, onwards in the direction of the island they took their course. The Seikh battery opened on them a heavy fire, and there was a descent of some four feet into the flat; but HAVELOCK, disregarding all opposition and all difficulties, and riding well ahead of his men, exclaimed, as he leapt down the declivity—"Follow me, my brave lads, and never heed their cannon shot." These were the last words he was ever heard to utter. The dragoons got amongst broken ground, filled with Seikh marksmen, who kept up a withering fire on the tall horsemen, throwing themselves flat on their faces whenever they approached them. After many bold efforts the 14th were withdrawn from the ground. But their commander never returned from that scene of slaughter.

It is not yet known exactly how he fell. Probably his charger was struck down by a cannon shot, and then he would have to contend against fearful odds: in fact, his orderly has related that he saw him lying in the nullah, with several dead Singhs around him, and that, being wounded himself, he could not go to his Colonel's aid. Another dragoon beheld him contending against several

of the enemy. HAVELOCK died, and his body remained in the sandy level in the power of the Singhs. He is said to have slain several of them with his own hand on this day. We need not be supposed to borrow from the romantic tales of Roland and of Amadis if we credit this assertion, for even the stag at bay will fiercely turn upon his hunter—what then the lion in the tiger's den ?—and we know that few had learnt in youth to wield sabre or rapier like WILL HAVELOCK —and at fifty-six his eye had lost nothing of its native quickness.

When Lord GOUGH s operations had put the British in possession of the right bank of the Chenaub, and not till then, HAVELOCK's body was found. It was recognized fully by the pious care of the Revd. W. WHITING, chaplain with the force Deep cuts on one leg, both arms, and the fingers of the right hand, attested the severity of the conflict in which he had sunk. The Singhs had in their barbarous fashion decapitated the gallant slain, and eleven of his noble dragoons who had fallen around him. In one of three tombs which are to be seen near the Imambarah at Ramnuggur, from which RUNJEET SINGH used to review his troops,—the two other sepulchres being those of CURETON and FITZGERALD,—lies the mortal body of WILLIAM HAVELOCK.

The best and bravest of England's chivalry need not disdain to make a pilgrimage to this spot. They will see there the remains of a gallant young soldier—a gallant soldier's son. There, too, lie CURETON and HAVELOCK, whom so many Peninsular dangers had spared. Neither of these men were perhaps fitted to be Generals in the highest sense, or understood the higher tactics ; but CURETON had few equals in all the duties of a regiment, a brigade, or a divisional command—few could move considerable bodies of cavalry like him : and if in these particulars HAVELOCK was his inferior, he was not unskilled in them, and possessed above most men the valuable power of imparting to others the ardor which ever burnt in his own bosom. Therefore it was that on the day of Ramnuggur his beloved dragoons so cheerfully mingled their blood with his blood, and so nobly followed wherever their commander led, though it was into the gulph of inevitable destruction !—*Bombay Times, March* 17 and 24.

THE LATE LIEUTENANT COLONEL C. R. CURETON, C. B., 16TH LANCERS.

COLONEL CURETON was born, bred, and educated, a gentleman, and when little more than sixteen was appointed to an ensigncy in a county militia corps, and soon promoted to a lieutenancy. His constant association with men of superior wealth led to expence beyond his own immediate resources ; creditors pressed, and then threatened legal proceedings. He applied to his family to assist him, and they refused. His spirit could not brook the thought of arrest, the dread of which caused him to absent himself, and a few months afterwards he was superseded, being absent without leave.

Not long after that event some friend procured him a commission in another militia regiment, but the *Gazette* furnished the few outstanding creditors with the knowledge of his "whereabout." The fear of arrest returned strongly, and effectually to guard against it he resolved again to absent himself ; in furtherance of which he purchased a sailor's dress, and next morning at an early hour went to the seaside, dressed in regimentals, with his disguise and a check shirt in a bundle, which he put on, leaving his military dress on the beach. The uniform was shortly found, and taken to the barracks, where it was ascertained to whom the articles belonged ; and an opinion was entertained that CURETON, while bathing, had been carried out by the current, and drowned. His family went into mourning accordingly.

By means of his disguise he reached London, and, meeting with a recruiting party of the 14th Lt. Drags., enlisted in his baptismal names. He joined the depot at Radipole, near Weymouth, where his steady conduct and well-stored mind quickly attracted the attention of the officers, and he was forthwith appointed to

orderly-room duty alone. A draught being ordered out to join head-quarters in the Peninsula, he was one of the number draughted. Letters highly recommendatory of his general good conduct and ability were forwarded by the officer in command of the depot to Sir S. HAWKER, and that discerning officer soon became assured of the young dragoon's merit and talents, and on the first opportunity advanced him to the rank of Sergeant. Then, when any outpost or other important duty required to be entrusted to an intelligent, skilful non-commissioned officer, it was generally confided to the (then) sergeant for execution. The perfort mance of those duties was always meritorious, and his reports thereof so well written, that Sir S. HAWKER'S interest was so far excited in his future prospects and welfare that he resolved on recommending him to Lord WELLINGTON for advancementas a commissioned officer, and n less than three months, and about seven years from the time of his enlisting, unknown as he was, with no means or interest to recommend or advance him, save that which had been raised in the breast of his gallant commanding officer, the present brigadier was gazetted in his proper name—CURETON, sergeant, from 14th Lt. Drag., to an ensigney in the 40th regt. of Infantry. The first intimation his friends had of his being in existence, arose from reading his name, to their great astonishment, in the *Gazette*. He exchanged into the late 20th Drag. as cornet. A lieutenancy was in a reasonable time obtained, when he was appointed adjutant to the regiment, and remained so until the disbandment after the peace, which placed him upon half pay. In that corps he was highly esteemed by all his brother officers, while his efficiency and merits as a cavalry officer were duly appreciated by the Lieut-Colonel, Sir S. HAWKER. On the 16th Drags. being ordered to India, and an augmentation of lieutenants taking place, Lieut. CURETON was appointed from half-pay to full of the 16th Drags, and soon afterwards Adjt, which rank he retained until he obtained, by purchase, a troop in the same regiment. He likewise purchased his majority, and was gazetted as Lieutenant-Colonel without purchase.

A writer in the *Times* says:—Having several letters relative to Brigadier CURETON, formerly a private in the 14th Lt. Drag., I am persuaded that you will do me the honour to insert these few lines, especially when I assure you they come from the pen of an old trooper who has ridden with the gallant colonel in the same battle-field, bivouacked under the same bush, and with whom he had shared the contents of the same haversack. It is at the request of a few of the old corps that I have been induced to trouble you, and to remove some misstatements which have been made by those less acquainted than the writer, and also desirous to establish the truth in the teeth of error.

Private CHARLES ROBERTS (the name he enlisted under) joined the 14th Lt. Drags., 1810, at Portalegre, in Portugal, with a remount from England under the command of the brave Major FENTON HERVEY, having recovered from the loss of an arm at Oporto in the charge of the 12th of May, 1809; consequently, Col. CURETON was not with the 14th at Talavera de la Reyna.

About the end of 1811, private C. ROBERTS was appointed corporal in Capt. TOWNSEND'S troop.

In 1813, the 14th Light Drags, lying at Hurte and its adjacents, Corporal ROBERTS was dispatched on duty to St. Jean de Luz, about three leagues distant, to copy general orders, when he was recognised by an officer of the Duke of Wellington's staff as an acquaintance when he held a commission in (if memory fail not) the Gloucester militia. The staff officer waited upon Lieut.-Col. HERVEY at Hurte, to whom he related the particulars (not Col. SAMUEL HAWKER, as he had returned to England in 1811, from Cortaxo).

Col. HERVEY having questioned Corporal ROBERTS in presence of his friend, was pleased to recommend him to the Duke of WELLINGTON, when a few days afterwards he was ordered to proceed to St. Jean de Luz, and was appointed sergeant of the post to the head-quarters of the army. In 1814, Sergeant ROBERTS CURE-

TON received an ensigncy in the 40th foot. The cavalry being his element, an exchange was effected for him into the 20th Light Dragoons. Upon the disbandment of that corps, Cornet CHARLES ROBERTS CURETON exchanged from half-pay into the 16th Lancers with Lieut. and Adjt. BARROW, with which he has so nobly distinguished himself. These truths are as fresh in memory as the occurrences of yesterday, and there are not a few old veterans now living who can bear testimony to the statement. In conclusion, Sir, I beg to assure you that there are few, if any one, of his old comrades, more gratified at the gallant colonel's success than his comrade of the bivouack, nor can the most gifted pen add any honour that has not been achieved by his sword.—Your obliged servant,

AN OLD TROOPER,

—*London Mail, April* 24, 1848.] 14th (D. Y. O.) Light Dragoons.

THIS gallant officer originally enlisted in the 14th Dragoons, in 1808, as a private, under the assumed name of ROBERTS. He immediately proceeded to the Peninsula with his regiment, and served to the close of the war, and was engaged in the battles of Talavera, Busaco, Fuentes d'Onor, and the siege of Badajos, in April 1812; at the battle of Salamanca, capture of Madrid, the battles of Vittoria, Orthes, Tarbes, and Toulouse. During those hard-fought engagements the brave private and non-commissioned officer did not escape unscathed, as he was always in the hottest of the fray, and owned his future advancement entirely to his gallantry. He was wounded in the right leg by a rifle ball on crossing the Mondego, near Coimbra, October 1, 1810; at the battle of Fuentes d'Onor in May, in the following year, he received a severe sabre cut on the head, and another on his right hand. In February, 1814, he was promoted to an ensigncy in the 14th Dragoons, without purchase, in consideration of his gallant behaviour and services. He subsequently proceeded to the East Indies, where he has been employed nearly 30 years. He served under General Viscount COMBERMERE at the siege and capture of Bhurtpore in 1825-6, and there displayed his usual courage and ability, having attained the rank of captain, by purchase, in the firstmentioned year. Colonel CURETON remained in India, employed in the routine duties, up to the breaking out of the war in the Punjaub in the autumn of 1845, when he was called upon to take active service with the armies which achieved the glorious victories of Ferozeshah, Aliwal, and Sobraon. He did not share in the glories of the firstnamed battle, but in the two latter he was in command of the cavalry corps. Major-General Sir HARRY SMITH, in his despatch of the battle of Aliwal to the Adjutant-General of the Army, thus conveys his appreciation of the deceased officer's services at that encounter:—"In Brigadier CURETON, Her Majesty has one of those officers rarely met with. The cool experience of the veteran soldier is combined with youthful activity. His knowledge of outpost duty, and the able manner in which he handles his cavalry under the heaviest fire, rank him among the first cavalry officers of the age, and I beg to draw his Excellency's marked attention to this honest encomium." At the battle of Sobraon similar praise was bestowed on his service in the field by the Commander-in-Chief, Sir HUGH GOUGH, in his despatch to the Governor-General, Sir HENRY HARDINGE. The recommendation of the gallant Colonel's superior officers gained the approbation of the Duke of WELLINGTON (the Commander-in-Chief), and Colonel CURETON, who had only held the regimental rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the Queen's army, was, soon after the receipt of the despatches from India (namely, in April 1846), promoted to the rank of Colonel, made a Companion of the Bath, and an Aide-de-Camp to the Queen. Colonel CURETON was subsequently appointed Adjutant-General of the Bengal army, a staff appointment previously held by his friend Major-General Sir HARRY SMITH. All that remains to be said is, that he accompanied the army under Lord GOUGH to the Punjab, and in the discharge of his duty met with an honourable death. He had received the decoration of the third class of the Dooranee Empire for his services in India. His commissions bore date as follow:—Ensign, February 24, 1814;

Lieutenant, June 27, 1816; Captain, November 12, 1825; Major, December 6, 1833; Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, July 23, 1839; Lieutenant-Colonel, August 21, 1839; and Colonel, April 8, 1846.—*Globe.*

THE LATE LIEUTENANT-COLONEL J. PENNYCUICK, C. B., 24TH FOOT.

AMONGST the many who have fallen victims to Lord GOUGH'S mismanagement on the banks of of the Jhelum, we find the names of Brigadier PENNYCUICK and his son. Col. PENNYCUICK was an old Peninsular officer of distinction. He commanded Her Majesty's 17th during the first Affghan War; led the gallant corps at the capture of Kelat, in 1839; and was nearly lost by shipwreck at the mouth of the Indus on his return to Bombay. He was at Aden with the head-quarter wing from 1841 to 1845, and conducted with the utmost credit a flying expedition into the interior in the firstnamed of these years. On the return of his corps to England he exchanged into Her Majesty's 24th, at the head of which he fell on the 13th January 1849.—*Bombay Times, Jan.* 31.

THE COLABAH OBSERVATORY.

THE Observatory, Colaba, was established in 1827. It was placed under charge of Mr CURNIN, Astronomer to the East India Company, under whom the buildings were constructed. About half a lakh of rupees having been expended on the house and enclosures of the compound, instruments were sent out by the Court, of such quality that Mr CURNIN reported them unserviceable for Astronomical purposes, and had them sent home. A London Committee having examined them, pronounced them efficient, and on this Mr CURNIN resigned his situation. The Court of Directors then determined that the Observatory should cease to be a salaried or substantial appointment. It was for some time under charge of an officer in the Indian Navy; and in 1835 a portion of the instruments were returned to Bombay under charge of Professor ORLEBAR, who had at the time the Observatory assigned to him as a place of residence. They were first set up and made use of for the purpose of observation in 1840. In 1841 a Magnetic and Meteorological Observatory was erected for the reception of a set of instruments intended for an Observatory at Aden, uniform in design with fifty or sixty others then being brought into existence in other parts of the world. The work of observation began in November or December 1841, and was continued with little interruption till May 1842, when Mr ORLEBAR returned to Europe on sick leave. The assistants had meanwhile left or fallen sick, and for some time all work was suspended. It was resumed in September 1842, and has continued uninterrupted to the present time. From January 1842 till March 1845 the establishment was under temporary charge of Dr BUIST: from the 1st April 1845 to the 1st Jan. 1847 it was once more presided over by Professor ORLEBAR. At the lastnamed date Commander MONTRIOU, Draftsman of the Indian Navy, was placed in temporary charge. A very active Member of the Royal Society having written to a party in Bombay who took a lively interest in such matters, requesting his advice as to what was best to be done, the subjoined memorandum was sent in reply. On its arrival in London, it was stated to have been considered of such importance as to have at once been laid in form before the Court of Directors. A copy having been placed in the hands of the Governor, Mr CLERK, he was pleased to express himself almost as strongly on its merits as those at home had previously done. In the letter accompanying it, it was stated that the party to whom the Observatory naturally should fall was one of the Professors in the ELPHINSTONE or GRANT College, the Naval Instructor on board the *Hastings*, or some Engineer, Artillery, or Medical officer, who had exhibited a taste for such pursuits, and who might be assured some appointment at the Presidency, the duties of which were not incompatible with those of keeper of the Observatory: and various parties were mentioned by name well fitted for the appointment. As the Court had declined making the appointment a salaried one, arrangements were pointed out by

which an adequate emolument might be cut out for it, by assigning the duties now performed in other departments to the Observer, and making over to him the salaries allowed to them. These explanations are required to clear up some of the allusions which have been made; the more especially as several names and paragraphs have been omitted, the publication of which might seem indelicate or uncalled for. The paper itself was never meant for publication: as it bears materially on the intellectual pursuits at the presidency it is here printed.

USES IN WHICH THE COLABA OBSERVATORY MIGHT BE MADE SUBSERVIENT.

It must at the outset be remembered, that the Indian Navy consists of 26 steamers, fourteen of which are from 750 to 1500 tons, and sixteen other vessels of war. These are officered, manned, and armed, like English men-of-war, and are chiefly engaged in the survey, packet, or transport service.

The number of Commissioned officers now on the list amounts to 172, viz., 9 Captains, 12 Commanders, 40 Lieutenants, 90 Midshipmen, 11 Pursers, and 19 Clerks. From 25 to 50 are generally in Bombay—the whole visiting the Presidency once every twelve or twenty months, and that for periods of some weeks duration, when generally very much at leisure. Nearly the whole of them have quitted home and joined the service considerably under the age of 16—when the most precocious can have acquired little more than the mere elements of education, young men bent on a seafaring life being rarely remarkable for early application to study.

Unlike the youth of a corresponding age and aspirations in the Royal Navy, they have not the advantage of a Naval instructor in the ships in which they serve: they have no place of general tuition or enlightenment such as every large town in England is provided with, to which they can resort when on shore.

The Hulk *Hastings*—alike remarkable for the confined and uncomfortable nature of her accommodations, as for the want of conveniences afforded by her to those holding the rank of officers and gentlemen—anchored off the port in water of a temperature of 80°, and air about ten degrees higher, is the prison to which these unfortunates are condemned. Here they are instructed in Naval gunnery and the Manual exercises of the Mariner—enjoying occasionally the advantage of regular tuition in Mathematics and Astronomy when possessing a teacher, or able to borrow one from the Board of Education.* To this is restricted the means of acquiring information or forming habits of study for a life to be devoted chiefly to Hydrographical and Geographical research, and other scientific enquiries.

There is no seminary in Bombay of any kind where European gentlemen can hope for a course of liberal instruction in literature and the sciences such as the Natives receive at the GRANT and ELPHINSTONE colleges: and an examination of the young officers of the Army and Navy in those subjects in which proficiency is considered indispensable where a liberal education is aspired to, would frequently shew that the Parsees and Hindoos were often possessed of accomplishments of which the English youths such as we have named were utterly destitute.

There is no scientific department whatever combined with the Indian Navy, and not one of the officers presently connected with it possesses, so far as is known, any very considerable amount of knowledge in any branch of Natural History or Natural Philosophy, or has ever enjoyed, or is likely, unless under the arrangement suggested, to enjoy, the means of attaining it.

The Naval officer constantly confined in the hulk has no means of learning surveying at all, either from on board much less from on shore, till sent to attempt that in which he has received scarcely any instruction.

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* This was written after the retirement of the present able and accomplished Instructor Mr WATERSTON, then supposed to have quitted the service permanently, and when Mr POLE, borrowed from the ELPHINSTONE College, had returned home.

They are taught Artillery practice with great care, though three-fourths of them have never seen, or are likely to see, an enemy requiring to be fired at from on board: in the departments to which their professional lives are to be devoted, they must accomplish themselves as they best can.

The Observatory establishment altogether now consists—1st, of the Astronomical Observatory, a handsome dwelling-house, in one wing of which are the instruments and apparatus—the accommodation being enough for them; 2d, of a large Lecture-room, 30 feet by 40, built and fitted up, and a few months made use of, in 1843 and 1844; 3d, of the Meteorological Observatory, about 50 yards removed from the other two; a lesser Meteorological and lesser Astronomical Observatory fitted up in 1845 and 1846, being situated close by. There are substantial dwellings for one European and five Native Assistants—an excellent coach-house, stable, cook-room, and other outhouses. By the sea shore is a roomy and well-built Tide-Register-house, with self-registering Tide-Gauge. The whole of these buildings are included in a large field or compound, comprising an area of several acres, surrounded by a high wall, on one side bounded by the high-way, on another by the sea, where a landing from boats might at all times be effected.

To me it appears that the establishment ought to be put under the charge of some of the PROFESSORS or teachers ascertained to be possessed of accomplishments sufficient, abundantly to discharge the duties of Observers, and zeal to carry out the other portions of the work; and at the same time to prepare the observations for publication, and to pass them through the press. The latter two of these are only second in importance to the former.*

The cost of the publication of the observations of a single year will fall little short of £600; it took twelve months to print the observations made by Mr ORLEBAR in seven, and those recorded in 1842, 43, 44, and 45, will take two years to pass through the press, and the printer's bill will in all likelihood not fall much short of £1500.

The junior officers of the Indian Navy would, by frequenting the Observatory, if under proper hands, be made familiar with the exact use permitted on shore of those beautifully delicate instruments, the researches of Astronomy, Magnetism, and Meteorology require. They would have abundant scope for land surveying, and for being made familiar with the most approved and exact methods of observing, as well as with those more off-hand and rapid operations so well detailed by Col. JACKSON, and often so important in Geographical enquiry. A few tents pitched for them would enable them to sleep on shore, and to pursue their out-of-door studies more in the shape of recreation than of toil in the cool of the mornings and evenings. Every one is aware with how much more pleasure and alacrity those occupations are pursued in after life which have in youth had the halo of happiness and enjoyment thrown around them, than those which are followed as drudgery or dull task work.

The system of lecturing begun in 1844 should be renewed, and perpetuated; and I see no better plan which could be adopted than that then laid down: three terms of three months each, though only two nights a week were employed in lecturing, would soon carry the pupil over a world of ground.

The Lecture room is abundantly sufficient for a workshop for the repair of instruments; a Museum for the accommodation of specimens of Natural History, to be collected by the officers on service, and studied by those on shore; for a repository of charts, drawings, and reports; a library for the accommodation of books, and a reading room, where such papers and periodicals might be taken in as the

* The Report of the Observatory for the latter part of 1845 affords an illustration of this: It is defaced all over with erroneous statements and typographical errors of the most fearful magnitude.

Nautical Magazine, the *United Service Magazine*, the *Athenæum*, and *Literary Gazette*.

A couple of European workmen, selected from some of the Queen's or Company's regiments, would much more than repay the expense they could occasion by, cleaning chronometers, repairing and renewing instruments, and performing the work necessary for the establishment. Every officer likely to be employed on survey should not only be taught the more ordinary operations, but plotting, planning, and drawing, so as to extend his papers without assistance. He ought also to be instructed in lithographic engraving, and every ship in the service furnished with lithographed copies of all the work that had been done since the last charts were issued.

These accomplishments are not only easily attained, but furnish in themselves extremely pleasing and interesting occupations, such as intelligent young men would themselves seek after without stimulant were opportunity only afforded them.

The Observatory ought to be the store-house for all scientific instruments belonging to Government, (those excepted directly connected with surgical or medical practice,) for whatever department of the public service they were designed: it does not follow that the Military, Medical, or Marine Storekeeper, though able men and excellent officers, should be accomplished opticians, or able to report on the quality of the instruments entrusted to their charge.

By the instruments being kept in the Observatory, under the supervision of a man of science, assisted by such operatives as those referred to, numberless inconveniences would be avoided, at a saving of many thousand rupees annually to Government.

The Officers' Library would not only be an useful but a very essential and simple affair, consisting of little more than the books now allowed by the East India Company.

One most important matter in India is to train young officers to habits of observation, and of study, to impress on them the mischievousness of idleness, and the degradingness of the stimulants tobacco and brandy supply. Men engaged in active pursuits require to learn habits of reading: they never come to them by nature. Who that has ever been at sea has not seen reason to deplore the amount of time wasted in sleeping during the day, in idle gossip, in smoking or drinking, by intelligent, able, and excellent men, because they had never been trained otherways to employ themselves, or used to see others in like position otherways employed. I recommend Newspapers and periodicals on the ground of the importance of a man keeping himself well up with the world in all kinds of information. He should be left no excuse for forgetting himself, or suffering himself to be forgotten; the example of what others accomplish, and the knowledge of what is desired to be accomplished being constantly before him, as stimulants to exertion.

Lighter reading need on no occasion interfere with study or professional occupation: it should be substituted merely for the gossip, or do nothing trifling in which the hours of recreation are wasted.

Every Naval officer ought to be carefully instructed in drawing: he has abundance of time for practising it on board ship, and on numberless occasions the accomplishment might be invaluable to him. No edifice beyond those already existing is requisite for either Library, Museum, or Model—room, the present Lecture-room is abundant for them all.

The Museum.—The entire amount which Government could be called on to spend on the Museum, beyond the shelves and glass cases to contain the specimens, need not exceed £50: for this a complete set of Geological and Mineralogical specimens for the purpose of permitting reference should be purchased at home

and sent out, the rest ought to be collected by the officers themselves, who, I have no doubt, would quickly feel the greatest pride in having a rich and well filled collection, which they knew to be their own. A collection of this sort would not only become a Magazine for reference, but a store-house, whence its spare treasures might be drawn for the service of the Museums at home. At present few or no specimens are collected, just because no fitting receptacle exists for their reception.

MODEL ROOM.—The attention that has of late years been bestowed on the best forms of ships by scientific men, led me to the investigation of the forms of some of our Native vessels, the performances of which can scarcely be surpassed—their lines approaching more near to the most approved theoretical curves than those of any vessels in existence. Assuming that where the art of ship-building had been so long successfully practised as at Bombay, there must be abundance of information attainable on such subjects, I applied at the Dockyard, and found that nothing whatever was to be learnt: they were all PRACTICAL MEN, and could assign no reason for what they did, and besides a few toys, were not in possession of a single model of any description of vessel whatever. The model-room at the Observatory would quickly remedy this want: ordinary seaman have always time enough and to spare on their hands when in port, and would delight in rigging and modelling craft of every sort for the most moderate compensation. A collection of these would familiarize the eye of the young officer to diversities and excellences in form, and enable his instructors to exhibit and explain to him the value of one class of vessels over another. He who is entrusted with the use of a machine so complex and magnificent as a ship, should from early youth be kept familiar with every part of its mechanism, and should no more require to depend on his carpenter or engineer as to what ought to be done, than ought the commander of an army to be at the mercy of subalterns: though in both cases the hands of subordinates may required to be resorted to to carry into effect the determination the supreme head had adopted.

Models and drawings of steam engines are quite as essential as those of ships, and might be as conveniently come by.

A subsequent memorandum recommended the Marine Sanatorium to be transferred to the Observatory compound. These recommendations have, as already stated, been cordially approved of: it is to be hoped that they may be acted on by and bye.

THE SIR JAMSETJEE BENEFACTIONS.

As scarcely a year has occurred since 1822 in which some mention of the Benefactions of Sir JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY does not hold a prominent place amongst our newspaper notices, any attempt to give the local annals of Bombay would be defective and incomplete in which the princely charities of this Native Merchant were overlooked. The present memoir being the commencement of a series, the appendix being professedly open to matter extending beyond the limits of the year, and the amount bestowed in 1843 furnishing but a faint impression of that which has been previously given, we cannot, we think, do better than avail ourselves of the opportunity this affords of giving an outline of the benefactions of Sir JAMSETJEE since they first formed subject of public notice, and may be illustrated from published statements without hurting the feelings of any one, or prying into the privacies of life. Within the last twenty-six years Sir JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY has bestowed close upon a quarter of a million sterling in benefactions, or at the rate of ten thousand pounds a year.

Sir JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY was the son of poor but respectable parents. Sir JAMSETJEE himself was born at Bombay on the 15th July 1783, and is by consequence now in the 60th year of his age. He commenced business as a merchant at the early age of 18, and made five successive voyages to China betwixt this and the year 1806. He was at the outset of his career in partnership with his father-in-law, FRAMJEE NUSSERWANJEE, under whose

charge he had passed the greater part of his youth, his parents having died while he was yet a child. He was subsequently connected in business with MOTEECHUND AMICHUND, FURDOONJEE SORABJEE, and MAHOMED ALI ROGAY. The two first of these have been dead for some years: the last is still alive, and is well known as an intelligent, upright, and enterprizing merchant, and most benevolent man. From the outset of his career our millionaire was distinguished at once by his boldness, enterprize, and sagacity: he feared no risks, however great, where the balance of chances were in his favor; and perceived, with almost intuitive sagacity, where commerce might be extended with advantage. He did not confine himself to any particular branch of trade or class of countries. He had extensive dealings in the produce of Bengal, Madras, Penang, Malacca, the Pedir Coast, the west coast of Sumatra, Singapore, Siam, Manilla, China, Suez, Smyrna, Alexandria, the Archipelago, and England. In transactions so varied and extensive in the hands of one so capable of taking advantage of every turn of trade, it was to be expected that very ample returns would speedily be realized at a time rendered peculiarly favorable for commercial speculation by the great political events in Europe from the peace of Amiens to the battle of Waterloo, and the new relations under which the East India Company were placed in 1813, which in four years raised the imports from Europe betwixt 1814 and 1819 from £670,000 to £3,052,000. Sir JAMSETJEE within less than twenty years of his entrance on business had realized an ample fortune. He was not, however, the man likely to desire to withdraw from active life so long as he could exert himself, or to hoard, or expend exclusively on personal luxury or display, the fruits of his exertions. The first notice we find of any public gift of magnitude bestowed by him is in the papers of 1822 and 1826, on both of which occasions he released the prisoners confined in Bombay Jail for debt under the authority of the Small Cause Court: on this the sum of £300 was expended. The cases of imprisonment of this sort are often of the greatest cruelty and hardship. Amongst the natives, custom prescribes the indulgence of almost unbounded extravagance in a family on cases of death or of marriage; and poor men, who have not laid up a single farthing to meet misfortune, or may at the time be actually in debt, will often on such occasions be induced to expend a sum equivalent to the income of a twelvemonth. A class of usurers called Marwarries, who add to general business that of money-lenders, are always ready to produce the means. The interest charged is generally from two to two and a half per cent monthly, that is, from twenty-four to thirty per cent per annum. Occasionally a bill is given for twice the amount actually borrowed; two or three securities are obtained; and the debt is agreed to be paid by instalments, which, as the borrowers in general can neither write nor read, are not understood to be carried to account with any very great degree of punctuality. The result is, that the poor debtor speedily attains a point of hopeless embarrassment: the furniture of his house, and jewels of his family, are made over to the creditor at a fraction of their value, and he himself thrown into jail, in the hope of some one coming forward in sheer pity to relieve him. Here he occasionally remains for years in a state of the most abject wretchedness. It will afford some indication of the smallness of the sums for which each individual lay incarcerated when it is stated that for no larger an amount than Rs. 3000—£ 300 sterling—the claims of the creditors of above fifty debtors were satisfied. For the next twenty years the flow of bounty from the coffers of Sir JAMSETJEE seems to have been almost uninterrupted: it was but seldom that any special notice of his acts of charity met the public eye until the fame of his munificences obtained for him in 1842 the honor of Knighthood. We have been able to trace the following items from various quarters, but we know that these have constituted but a small fraction of his gifts. Yet £60,000 might well be considered a princely contribution to the cause of humanity:—

Payments towards effecting the release of Debtors in 1822 and 1826, and again in 1842. Rs. 3,000
Property made over in Trust, the funds from which are devoted to the periodical performance in Bombay, and sundry places in Guzerat, of various Parsee rites and ceremonies..... .... ,, 170,000

Cost of a building made over to the Parsee Punchayet, for the celebration of certain public Festivals among the Parsees in Bombay.	Rs. 65,000
Contributions in money, grain and clothes, for the benefit of the sufferers by the great fire at Surat	„ 35,000
Remittances made from time to time for distribution among poor Parsees at Surat, and neighbourhood	„ 40,000
Subscriptions to the Pinjrapole in Bombay	„ 65,000
Subscriptions to the Building of Parsee Cemeteries in various places	„ 30,000
Sums given up at various times in effecting the amicable adjustment of disputes referred for arbitration	„ 30,000
Subscriptions given in aid of distressed members of respectable native families	„ 40,000
Sums expended for building and repairing various Parsee churches in Surat and the neighbouring places	„ 17,000
Cost of sundry Wells and Reservoirs in Bombay, Colaba, and between Poona and Ahmednuggur	„ 15,000
Subscription to the Pinjrapole at Patton in Guzerat	„ 3,000
Amount given in Trust to the Parsee Punchayet for the benefit of the poor blind at Nowsary	„ 5,000
Subscriptions during ten years to the Parsee Punchayet for the purpose of distribution towards charitable works	„ 15,000
Cost of Parsee church at Poona	„ 50,000
Cost of Khandalla Dhurmsalla	„ 20,000
Contribution towards a fund for defraying the funeral expenses of poor Parsees at Gundavy near Nowsary	„ 5,000
Total	Rs. 6,03,000

Hitherto it will be seen that Sir JAMSETJEE'S charities had been bestowed on his own people, and for objects deemed sacred by his nation and faith: and however little those who have delighted to honor him may admire some of the objects on which his liberality was expended, it must be remembered that they were with him and his race objects of peculiar veneration—that funeral and marriage rites have throughout the world claimed special homage from mankind,—and that the feeling which begins by concentrating itself on home, and brethren, and country, and race, and faith, has always been held to constitute the very essence and foundation of patriotism. We shall shortly have to chronicle cosmopolitan charities which had no special object, but the relief of human suffering wherever it was to be found. On the 10th of March 1842 it was intimated to Sir JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY that the honor of Knighthood had been conferred upon him by his Sovereign. We find the following report of the proceedings on the occasion of the presentation of the Patent, in the *Bombay Times* of the 26th May, 1842:—

FESTIVITIES AT PAREL.—On Wednesday evening the Honorable Mr ANDERSON* gave an evening party at Parell, on the occasion of presenting to Sir JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY his Patent of Knighthood; and, considering the season of the year, when so many people are absent at the Hills, it was brilliantly attended. Sir JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY arrived at about ½ past 10 o'clock, when he was led up from the Entrance Hall to the Reception Room, attended by H. L. ANDERSON, Esq., the Private Secretary, on one hand, and Major WILLOUGHBY, the Military Secretary, on the other, preceded by a large body of Chopdars and State Peons. On arriving at the top of the grand room, he was met by the Honorable the Governor, who was supported by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the heads of the Departments. The Patent of Knighthood lay on a Damask Cushion in front of the Governor, who, after heartily and most cordially greeting Sir JAMSETJEE, proceeded to address him in the following terms:—

"SIR JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY—Her most gracious Majesty the Queen having been graciously pleased to confer upon you the dignity of Knight of the United Kingdom, the Patent has been transmitted to me to present to you; and both Lord Fitzgerald—the President of the Board of Control, and the Honorable the Court of Directors, in transmitting this instrument to me for this purpose, have expressed their high gratification at your having received this distinguished honor.

"The dignity of Knighthood has ever, amongst the Natives of Europe, been considered as most honorable. To attain this distinction has continually been the ambition of the highest minds and noblest spirits, either by deeds of the most daring valor, or by the exercise of the most eminent talent.

"You, by your deeds for the good of mankind,—by your acts of Princely munificence to alleviate the pains of suffering humanity,—have attained this honor, and have become enrolled amongst the illustrious of the land.

"This honor, of which you may be so justly proud, cannot fail at the same time of being

* MR ANDERSON, Senior Member of Council, became Governor of Bombay in April 1841, on the retirement of Sir J. CARNAC, and remained such till the arrival of Sir GEORGE ARTHUR in June 1842; Sir W. MACNAGHTEN, who had been appointed Governor, having been murdered at Cabool on the day he expected to have taken up the Governorship. He has just been Knighted, and appointed Governor of the Mauritius.

highly satisfactory to your fellow countrymen, who, in this distinguished mark of Her Majesty's gracious favor to you, must see how equal is the consideration Her Majesty extends to all classes of Her subjects, and that where deeds worthy of honor are done, upon all will honor be conferred, however different the race, or distant the country of Her Realm.

"To me, who have so long known you, and have so long and fully appreciated your truly estimable character, it is most pleasing that it should have fallen to my hands to present you with this Patent of Knighthood. I present it,—congratulating you most sincerely upon the distinction and honor which your worth has achieved."

At the conclusion of this address, the Band played the National Anthem, and Sir JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY replied as follows:—

"SIR,—I am unable to express my feelings on receiving so gratifying a proof of Her most gracious Majesty's favor as being raised to the high distinction of the Knighthood of the United Kingdom: an honor most unlooked for, yet doubly acceptable from the gracious manner in which it has been announced and conferred upon me. I cannot, Sir, nor will I attempt to look back upon the causes which have drawn on me Her Majesty's approbation and its consequent honors, but I can honestly declare I looked not for such rewards, but felt satisfied in being able, out of the abundance which a gracious Providence had bestowed upon me, to spare something towards mitigating the sufferings of my less fortunate fellow creatures: still I feel a high, I hope a justifiable, pride, in the distinction of being enrolled in the Knighthood of England, marked as that order has ever been by the brightest traits of loyalty and honor. But these honors are gratifying to me, not only in a personal view, as being the first Native of India on whom they have been conferred, but as they bear also upon my own people and my fellow-countrymen in general, as a pledge that we are not uncared for, and that on the throne of England our loyalty and devotion are appreciated. This conviction must lead to good, for it cannot fail to act as a spur to future exertions that we know, distant as we are, we are not hidden from the ever watchful and maternal eye of our beloved Sovereign.

"But I feel I should be wanting in gratitude were I not to tender my warmest acknowledgments to the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, the rulers of this mighty Empire, for the kind and cordial interest they have taken in my behalf, and for their recommendation to Her Majesty's Ministers, to which I am mainly indebted for the notice of our most gracious Sovereign—the source of all honour. And together with my acknowledgments, I would assure that Hon'ble Board, that their Native subjects fully appreciate the anxious endeavours they have made to ameliorate their condition, and lead them, step by step, to the full enjoyments of the blessings of the British constitution, and the honours of their English brethren.

"If there is anything which could enhance the value of Her Most Gracious Majesty's approbation, I feel it to be, Sir, that the honours my Sovereign has been pleased to bestow upon me have been presented through one I have so long known, esteemed, and honoured, as yourself; and I must beg you, Sir, to accept my most hearty acknowledgments and thanks for the marked and distinguished manner in which you have been pleased to express your sentiments and congratulations in conferring those honors upon me."

The most hearty plaudits followed Sir JAMSETJEE'S address, and his numerous friends present pressed forward to congratulate the new Knight, who received the courtesies offered him in his usual kindly and hearty manner, and but one feeling appeared to prevail in the whole room, namely, of hearty good will to the man who stood before them, the honored of his Sovereign. At Supper, the Honorable the Governor proposed the health of the first Knight of India—Sir JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY—with three times three, which was drank with the greatest enthusiasm. The party did not separate till a late hour of the evening, or rather early next morning.

We find the following account of the armorial bearings of Sir JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY in the *Chabook*:—

SIR JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY'S "COAT OF ARMS"—Consists of a handsome *shield* in the form of the shields used by the Knights of St. John at the defence of *Malta*, beautifully emblazoned by scrolas of gold. At the lower part of the shield is a landscape scene in India, intended to represent a part of the Island of *Bombay*, with the Islands of *Salsette* and *Elephanta* in the distance. The sun is seen rising from behind *Salsette* to denote *industry*, and in diffusing its light and heat displaying liberality. The upper part of the shield has a *white ground* to denote *integrity* and purity, on which are placed two *Bees* representing *industry* and *perseverance*. The shield is surrounded by a crest consisting of a beautiful *Peacock*, denoting *wealth, grandeur* and magnificence; and in its mouth is placed an ear of paddy, denoting beneficence. Below the shield is a white *pennant* folded, on which is inscribed the words "INDUSTRY AND LIBERALITY," which is Sir Jamsetjee's *motto*.—*Translated for the Bombay Times, from the Bombay Chabook of June* 1, 1842.

In the same year the kinsmen of Sir JAMSETJEE resolved to make a formal recognition of his merits by bestowing on him a testimonial, and a subscription of Rs. 15,000 was accordingly raised, to be disposed of as he should think most fitting. The friends of both parties were summoned to be present on the occasion, and the elite of the European and native Communities, from the Governor and Members of Council down, accordingly assembled at Mazagon Castle, one of the mansions of Sir JAMSETJEE, on the 15th of June 1842. It was intimated that the sum subscribed for as a testimonial was to be sunk as a fund, the interest of which was to be expended on the translation of the most popular and improving works from European or Oriental writers into Goozerattee, the chief language of the Parsees. An address to this effect, noticing the numberless claims of Sir JAMSETJEE to the homage of

his countrymen having been read, the Worthy Knight replied in a manner somewhat wide of that sanctioned by usage on such occasions, when empty civilities from the recipient are returned for the solid pudding of the givers. Sir JAMSETJEE, in acknowledging in fitting terms the compliment that had been paid him, intimated that to the £1500 subscribed as a testimonial to be expended on translations, he had determined to add three lakhs of rupees—THIRTY THOUSAND POUNDS STERLING!—the interest of which was to be expended in the procurance of translations,—that is, for the extension of knowledge and promotion of intellectual culture amongst the Parsees. The whole of the proceedings connected with this were so very striking that we give the report of them here entire as it appeared in the *Bombay Times* of June 1842 :—

PRINCELY MUNIFICENCE OF SIR JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY.—On the forenoon of Wednesday last, a very numerous party of European and Parsee gentlemen assembled at the mansion of Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, to witness the presentation of an address to him by his kinsmen and friends, accompanied by a testimonial, value Rs. 15,000 (*i. e.* £1,500.) Nearly all the distinguished members of the Parsee community were present; and amongst the Europeans we observed the Hon'ble Mr. Anderson; Major-General D. Barr; Major-General T. Valiant; A. Bell, G. Giberne, and B. Hutt, Esqs., Judges of the Sudder Adawlut; W. R. Morris, Esq., Secy. to Govt.; Colonel J. H. Dunsterville; Col. S. Hughes, C. B.; W. C. Bruce, Esq., Accountant-General; A. Spens, Esq. C. S.; Colonel Dickinson; Captain Oliver, R. N.; Captain Ross, I. N.; E. E. Elliot, Esq. C. S.; the Hon'ble Captain West, A. D. C. to the Governor; Captain Arthur; H. L. Anderson, Esq., C. S.; Captain M. Willoughby; Dr. J. Burnes, K. H., Secy. Med. Board; P. W. LeGeyt, Esq., C. S.; James Matheson, H. Fawcett, R. Crawford, John Bowman, C. B. Skinner, G. Bulst, and J. G. Malcolmson, Esqrs.; Dr. W. Mackie; Sir Roger de Faria; &c. &c.

The shape in which the testimonial was given might well put to shame the gifts of pictures, statues, and silver plate, which too often constitute similar memorials in Europe: the sum already named (£1,500) was to constitute a fund for the purpose of procuring translations into Goozerattee (the language of the Parsees) of the best European or Asiatic works, ancient and modern; and generally for the institution of schools and promotion of knowledge; and the relief of the sick and indigent natives. This was so far excellent: but when Sir JAMSETJEE thanked his friends for their kindness, as well as for the manner in which it was exhibited, he stated that he would add *three Lakhs of Rupees* (£30,000 *Sterling!!*) to the sum subscribed—the whole to be devoted, under the designation of "THE JEJEEBHOY FUND," to the purposes specified in the address to him. This, we will venture to say, is, under the circumstances, an instance of princely munificence nearly unparalleled. Sir JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY is a private native merchant, still in the full springtide of prosperous business; the founder of his own fortunes, who never held place of profit under Government; who, moreover, so far from being in the act of disposing of a fortune on the brink of the grave, without heirs or claimants, is in the enjoyment of full vigour of body and mind, in a green old age, with a large and talented family, brought up in a manner befitting their station; who all of them most heartily and cordially concur in this alienation, for the public good, of a part of that princely heritage which would otherwise be their own, and of which there still seems residue enough for the wishes of the most ambitious. Sir JAMSETJEE has, within these three or four years, bestowed on public charities, altogether independent of private benefactions, sums which conjointly amount to upwards of five lakhs of rupees, or nearly £50,000 sterling!

The party already noticed having been assembled, Framjee Cowasjee Esq., spoke as follows:—

SIR JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY.—We are here assembled to present you an address of congratulation on the occasion of your having been selected by our revered Sovereign for the high and distinguished honor of Knighthood. Your merits are so well known, and your eminent virtues so well understood, that it is needless for me to say one word on the subject. In consideration of the presence of our European friends, I have to request that you will allow the address to be read in English by our friend Bomanjee Hormusjee, Esq.

Which having been acceded to, the following address was read by that gentleman:—

TO SIR JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY, KNIGHT.—SIR,—We, the undersigned, Parsee and Hindoo inhabitants of Bombay, would not be doing justice to our feelings, and the feelings of the Community to which we belong, were we, on an occasion like the present, to withhold the expression of our deep sense of the gracious condescension and benevolent regard evinced by Her Majesty the Queen towards her most faithful subjects in this country, by conferring on a Native of India, the rank, dignity, and privileges of a Knight of the British Realm; or were we to omit offering to you our sincere congratulation at your receiving so honorable a token of Her Majesty's approbation of your well known public spirit and generous application of the means placed by Providence at your disposal, on works of public utility, and objects connected with the comfort, welfare, and happiness, of Her Majesty's subjects under this Presidency.

2. Though you are the first Native on whom such a high honor has been conferred, and though this is the first instance of the acts and conduct of a Native of British India attracting the favorable notice of our Sovereign, it is impossible not to concur in the justness of the sentiment which has already so generally manifested itself, that Her Majesty's present act will strengthen and confirm the feelings of loyal attachment towards her person and Government, of her Native subjects throughout the length and breadth of this her extensive Indian Empire; while a strong incentive will be created, which we are convinced will be generally felt, to emulate those good deeds for which you have been so distinguished.

3. When we consider that but a few years ago, when it was proposed to render Natives eligible to serve on the Grand Jury, and to hold commissions as Justices of the Peace, the measure was opposed at the India House by all the Directors except one—the late excellent Governor, Sir James Carnac, our much esteemed and lamented friend Mr. John Forbes, and the present Chairman Mr. G. Lyall, and was at length carried only by the untiring and philanthropic exertions of the then President of the Board of Control, Lord Glenelg, aided by other tried and distinguished friends of India, and contrast this with (what we understand to be) the fact that the proposal to confer on you the honor of Knighthood was unanimously supported by that Hon ble Body, we cannot but rejoice at the change of feeling from that then evinced towards the Natives of this country. We hail it as the harbinger of a brighter day for India, when Britain shall no longer view her dominions here as a means of aggrandizement for her own sons, but as a sacred trust—of which the paramount object is the welfare of the children of the soil, and improvement and elevation of their moral and social condition.

4. We shall not expatiate upon your princely donation of a Lakh and fifty thousand Rupees towards the foundation of an Hospital for all classes of the community—your munificent offer to Government to contribute fifty thousand (50,000,) rupees towards the construction of a Causeway or Viaduct at Mahim, to connect Bombay and Salsette—the construction of a spacious building at Khandalla, on the high road to the Deccan, for the accommodation of Travellers,—nor upon the prompt and liberal relief which, from your own purse, and thro' your personal exertions, has been afforded to your fellow creatures in distress, especially on the two occasions in which the city of Surat was visited with extensive and calamitous fires; while in your private charities your hand has ever been ready to alleviate the sufferings of the widow and orphan, the unfortunate and the destitute: there are few public institutions at this Presidency which have not shared largely in your bounty. Neither is it necessary to dwell upon the benefit which the Trade of this Port has derived from the enterprise and magnitude of your commercial operations; nor to point out the great extent to which you have availed yourself of the means of doing good, derived from your mercantile knowledge and experience, joined to a conciliatory disposition, and the probity of your character, as well as from your position in the Native community, by arranging differences, and settling disputes, so as to save the parties from the evils of a tedious and expensive litigation. But we would allude to these circumstances merely to show the grounds of the high estimation in which you are universally held, and of the feelings which have induced them to express our gratification at the distinction which has been conferred upon you,—a gratification which derives no small addition from the consideration of your being one of the principal members of our own community.

5. To commemorate this auspicious event, we request your permission to apply a sum of money which we have subscribed, in forming a fund, to be designated "Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy's Translation Fund;" and to be vested in trustees for the purpose of being appropriated in defraying the expences of translating into the Guzerattee Language such books from the European and Asiatic languages, whether ancient or modern, as may be approved of by the Committee, to be by them published and distributed gratis, or at a low price, among the Parsee Community, in furtherance of the education of our people, of which you have ever been a warm friend and zealous patron.

We subscribe ourselves, with sentiments of esteem and respect, Sir, your faithful and obliged servants,

Jugonnathjee Sunkersett, Esquire; Framjee Cowasjee, Esq.; Bomanjee Hormasjee, Esq; Cursetjee Cowasjee, Esq.; Dadabhoy Pestonjee, Esq.; Nowrojee Jamsetjee, Esq.; Cursetjee Rustomjee, Esq.; Dhackjee Dadsjee, Esq; Aga Mahomed Rahim Khan, Esq.; Aga Mahomed Jaffer, Esq; Jehangeer Nesserwanjee Wadia, Esq.; Ardaseer Hormasjee, Esq; Ardaseer Cursetjee, Sett; Khemchund Motichund; Nanjee Jaikoran; Vucutchund Khooshalchund; Ramdass Herachund, and almost all the most respectable Parsees and Hindoo Merchants of Bombay—nearly 1000 in number.—Bombay, 31st May 1842.

After this, the following, in the name of the native inhabitants of Poonah and its vicinnage, by Jejeebhoy Dadabhoy, Esq.:—

Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Knight.—It is with feelings of pleasure that I present to you six addresses from the Natives of Poona, Nuggur, Sattara, Jaulna, Ahmednuggur, and Hyderabad, transmitted to me for the purpose of expressing to you the respect in which your talents and benevolence are held by them, and to congratulate you upon the high honor which her most Gracious Majesty the Queen of England has conferred upon you.

I should, Sir Jamsetjee, read these addresses, but as there are several European Gentlemen who know but little of the Language in which they are written, were I to read them they would find it tedious. I am confident, Sir Jamsetjee, you will excuse my further complying with the request of those who have deputed me to present them to you, than to express to you my sincere and heartfelt sympathy in the sentiments they contain.

The cheering with which these addresses were received by the party having subsided, Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy spoke as follows:—

My Dear Friends.—I feel deeply gratified to you for the address which you have just presented to me: so distinguished a mark of the esteem of my fellow countrymen is an honor of which I and those who are most dear to me may justly be proud. To have been selected by my Sovereign as the native through whom she was graciously pleased to extend the order of Knighthood to Her Indian Subjects, was, and ever must be, a source of deep personal gratification to myself. But to receive the congratulations of my fellow countrymen in a manner at once so kind and flattering,—to have this auspicious event commemorated by the creation of a charity to be connected with my name, and in the objects of which I so cordially concur, is a source of inward pride and satisfaction, which, rising higher than the gratification of mere worldly titles, will live with me to my dying day.

Your too kind and favorable mention of my acts of charity has much affected me. The only merit I have a right to claim for them is, that they proceeded from a pure and heartfelt desire, out of the abundance with which Providence has blessed me, to ameliorate the condition of my fellow creatures. With this no unworthy motive was mixed; I sought neither public honors nor private applause; and, conscious of a singleness of purpose, I have long since had my reward. When, therefore, Her Majesty's most gracious intentions were communicated to me, I felt deeply gratified that I had unconsciously been the means of eliciting so signal a mark of the good feeling of England towards the people of India, and it is in this light that I prefer to consider the distinguished honor Her Majesty has conferred upon me, and that also which I have received at your hands this day.

Nothing could please me more than the purposes to which you propose to devote the funds that have been subscribed. I shall ever wish my name to be connected with every endeavour to diffuse knowledge amongst our people; and the surest way to incite them to elevate and improve themselves, to fit them to appreciate the blessings of the Government under which they live, and to deserve those Honors which have now, for the first time, been extended to India, is to spread far and wide amongst them, gratuitously, or in a cheap form, translations into our own language of the most approved authors. Connected with this subject is a scheme that I have long contemplated for relieving the distresses of the Parsee poor of Bombay, Surat, and its neighbourhood. You know full well the state of misery in which many of our people are living, and the hopeless ignorance in which their children are permitted to grow up. My object is to create a fund, the interest of which shall be applied towards relieving the indigent of our people, and the education of their children, and I now propose to invest the sum of Rupees 3,00,000 in the public Securities, and place it at the disposal of Trustees, who, with the interest, shall carry out the object I have mentioned; and this trust I hope you will take under your care.

And now, my dear friends, let me once again thank you for your kindness. There is nothing I value so highly as the good opinion of my countrymen, nor anything I more anxiously desire than their welfare and happiness.

JEJEEBHOY DADABHOY.—I must beg of you to convey to the Native Inhabitants of Poonah, Ahmednuggur, Sattara, Jaulna, Aurungabad, and Hyderabad, my warmest and most grateful thanks for the great honor they have done me in the address which I now receive from your friendly hands. Assure them of my warmest interest, and of my anxious desire to co-operate with them in all that may tend to improve their condition and add to their happiness. The favor they have done me is greatly enhanced by your being selected to present the addresses, in which they convey by far too flattering an expression of their feelings towards me. By the blessing of God, and the support of many warm friends, I have received a distinguished mark of favor from the Sovereign of England. I of course feel flattered and proud of the distinction conferred upon me, but no merely personal feeling of gratification would have given me the delight I experience in the kindly feeling towards India and her children evinced in the late gracious act of our beloved Sovereign.

Pray do me the favor, Jejeebhoy, to convey to one and all of those who have signed the addresses, my best and most cordial good wishes for their health, their happiness, and their prosperity.

So far was the *Bombay Times* from owing any favour to the Parsees, or exhibiting any partiality towards them, that about this very time it was threatened with a prosecution for some animadversions on the proceedings of the Punchayet* considered unduly severe. The compliments bestowed were so because strictly deserved by the recipients: Sir JAMSETJEE was not then so much as known to the writer.

(On the 15th Dec. 1843 the Governor of Bombay, Sir GEORGE ARTHUR, invited a select party to Government House, to be present on the occasion of his presenting Sir JAMSETJEE with a gold Medal set in diamonds, a gift from Her Majesty.) In referring to the subject, Sir GEORGE stated that he had enquired into the amount of Sir JAMSETJEE's past benefactions, and found them to have within twenty years amounted to above £90,000; and that the amount of his private charities, which could not be learned, were understood to form a very considerable fraction of the gifts to public institutions which could not be concealed. The following notice of the proceedings on the occasion appears in the papers of the time:—

FESTIVITIES AT PAREL.—A splendid party of upwards of 200 persons assembled at Government House, Parel, on the evening of Thursday, to a Ball and Supper, given in honour of Sir JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY on the occasion of bestowing on him by the Governor, a Medal conferred by the British Government. We have seldom seen the magnificent apartments at Pa-

* The Punchayet means a jury of five persons; to the arbitration of these all over India it is customary to refer matters of dispute, and to consider their decision as final. Amongst the Parsees the Punchayet have exercised a much more extensive power than that of a court of arbitration merely: they were the guardians of the rites, customs, and privileges, of the caste; and to come under their ban on any ground, was always regarded as the heaviest of misfortunes. Of late years their authority has much declined. The Pinjara Pool is an hospital for sick and infirm animals of all descriptions, from the elephant to the mouse: they receive board and lodging and medical treatment as long as they remain.

rell so crowded. Amongst the most conspicuous guests of the evening were the BABOO DWARKANAUTH TAGORE and suite, just arrived from England, and about to leave by the *Carnac* steamer this day for Calcutta; and General VENTURA and Staff,—the magnificent dresses of the latter of whom threw the other brilliant and varied uniforms and costumes of the party completely into the shade.

About 10 o'clock Sir Jamsetjee was led to the head of the room between Captain Arthur A. D. C., and the private Secretary—when His Excellency addressed the worthy Knight to the following effect:—

SIR JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY.—I have been directed by the Right Honorable the President of the Board of Control, to present to you a Medal from the British Government," in whatever manner might appear to me to be most proper." The arrangements I have made for presenting it to you this evening, in the presence of the members of Government, and surrounded by your own particular friends, will, I trust, be in every way agreeable to you.

This medal bears, on its face, the image of the Queen, encircled with diamonds. This is most appropriate, as Her Majesty is at the head of the Government by which it is presented. The reverse bears this inscription—" Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Knight—from the British Government, in honour of his munificence and his patriotism."

I could not, Sir JAMSETJEE, with perfect satisfaction to myself, perform the pleasing task which has devolved upon me, without instituting some enquiry as to what were the acts of munificence, and what the deeds of patriotism, to which the inscription refers? I learnt after very careful enquiries, that the sums you had publicly given, and which were mostly expended in useful works for the general benefit of the country, amounted to the amazing sum of upwards of Rs 9,00,000, or more than £90,000 sterling. Well, indeed, might Her Majesty's Government designate such liberality as acts of "munificence" and deeds of "patriotism."

Some men hope to distinguish themselves by their courage and conduct in the field, and seek military glory; others to obtain honourable distinction by their exertions in the Senate and the Cabinet:—you, Sir, have sought to distinguish yourself by your philanthropy, your munificence, and your patriotism: and you have, Sir, your reward. This beautiful medal, thus publicly presented to you by her Majesty's command,—the esteem and approbation of which this medal is a token,—these, Sir, are your rewards,—the rewards of "your *munificence*" and of your "*patriotism*."

I could have wished, however, that to these two words Her Majesty's Government had added that of "*benevolence*."

In enquiring what were the instances of *Public* munificence by which you had distinguished yourself, it was impossible for me to avoid gaining an insight into your acts of *Private* charity; and according to the best information I have been able to procure, through enquiries made with every desire to avoid hurting your feelings, I have learnt that your private charities, though so bestowed that many of them are unknown even to the members of your own family, have been nearly as unbounded.

For these acts of benevolence, Sir, you may look for another and a still higher reward, at the close of your well spent life: when you shall lay your head on your dying pillow, the remembrance that you have so used the wealth with which Providence has blessed you, will be your greatest and best comfort, and the thoughts of your numerous deeds of benevolence and charity will at that moment be your highest consolation.

I now present you with the medal, in the earnest hope that your valuable life may long be preserved to wear it.

To which Sir JAMSETJEE replied:—

SIR GEORGE ARTHUR.—The additional mark of the approbation of the British Government and the Court of Directors of the East India Company, which I have just received from your hands, has filled my heart with gratitude, and I find myself unable to express the feelings which overpower me. To draw down upon me the approbation of Her Most Gracious Majesty for any act of public benevolence, was far beyond the range of my hopes or my ambition: yet this approbation has been so enhanced by the unexpected honors with which it has been attended, that I know not how to offer my humble acknowledgments, but bow in grateful and Loyal homage.

I shall hand down this Medal (Sir) to my Children's Children with pride and reverence! I shall teach them to look upon it with feelings of veneration towards the high source under whose sanction it has been conferred—to consider it as a token that our Gracious Sovereign and Her Government take a deep interest in all her distant subjects, and that occasions are sought to prove it. They shall be taught that fidelity to the British Crown is their first duty—loyalty the first Virtue.

Permit me, Sir, to thank you for the manner in which you have been pleased to present this token of my Sovereign's approbation, and to assure you of my high sense of the obligation you have conferred upon me by the honors with which you have accompanied it.

Until the year 1830 there had been no private Medical practitioner in Bombay: until this date the European community not connected with the Services was so limited in its numbers that on the medical officers of the Company's army devolved the whole of the practice of the place,—natives being almost invariably attended by those of their own caste. In the year just specified, Dr. MACKIE established himself here, and amongst the many who supported him, and availed themselves of his professional aid, a large number were Parsees. Sir JAMSETJEE and his family were the earliest and most constant of his friends. The very

great importance of a Native Dispensary was so apparent that it seemed singular none such had before this time come into existence. Through the exertions of Dr. MACKIE, and the pecuniary aid of Sir JAMSETJEE and others of the charitable, a dispensary was brought into existence in 1834, and still continues to flourish, medical aid having throughout been gratuitously afforded it by Dr. MACKIE* till his departure from Bombay, and afterwards by his partner Dr. BREMNER, up to the present time. Out of this arose the Sir JAMSETJEE Hospital—a magnificent establishment,—on which the founder conferred no less a sum than £17,000, or Rs. 170,000. The stranger who passes through the Native Town on his way to Byculla or Parell will be struck as he emerges from a tedious and irregular avenue of shops and dwellings of every shape and form, with a long low range of gothic buildings, with two advancing wings, forming three sides of a quadrangle, with a handsome clock-tower in front some thirty yards in advance; and a handsome massy structure, still further forward, sixty feet high, of the same style of architecture, but still more richly decorated. The whole occupies a large area of ground surrounded by a handsome wall and railings, with four entrance gates. The one is the Sir JAMSETJEE Hospital, for the reception of native patients of every caste and creed; the other the GRANT Medical College, for the instruction of natives in the healing art,—erected in commemoration of the worth of the late Sir ROBERT GRANT, one of the most amiable, able, and upright men who ever ruled in India. The collocation is a happy one: the Principal and Professors of the College have charge of the Hospital, where the first generation of regularly trained native doctors receive instruction, while patients who otherwise would have been left to their fate are being relieved.

The following reports from the newspapers of the day give particulars of the laying of the foundation stone of the JAMSETJEE Hospital: they are well worthy of preservation:—

CEREMONY OF LAYING THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE

"JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY HOSPITAL."

Yesterday, the north-east corner-stone of the "Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Hospital" was laid with great pomp and Masonic formality, at Byculla, by the R. W. The Provincial Grand Master of Western India, Dr James Burnes, K. H., assisted by the Hon. G. W. Anderson, Member of Council; P. W. LeGeyt, Esq., Chief Magistrate; L. R. Reid, and J. P. Willoughby, Esquires, Secretaries to Government; Lieut.-Colonel Neil Campbell, and W. Crawford, Esq., Major-General Valiant, K. H., and the various other dignitaries of the Masonic Craft at Bombay,—in the presence of Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy; the Honourable the Governor, Sir Thomas M'Mahon, all the principal members of our Society, and an immense assemblage of every class and denomination. The ladies were accommodated with seats under canopies tastefully decorated with banners and leaves, under the direction of Captain Goodfellow of the Engineers. The insignia and clothing of the Brethren excited much admiration; above forty members of the Provincial Grand Lodge being dressed alike in green aprons and scarfs with gold embroidery. The banners, batons, staves, &c., were also in admirable taste, and three large gilt pillars of the Corinthian, Ionic and Doric orders, which were placed beside the Grand Master and his Wardens, gave a very striking effect to the ceremony, which, on this the first occasion of a Masonic display in our city, passed off with great eclat. Sir George Arthur paid the worthy Parsee Knight the very handsome and becoming compliment of coming into the Fort for the purpose of accompanying him to the ceremony, and they reached the ground soon after 4 o'clock.

The Provincial Grand Lodge was opened at the residence of N. Spencer, Esq., near the Sudder Adawlut, at 4 P. M., and the brethren being formed in procession, moved to the site of the foundation stone in the following order:—

Two Tylers with drawn Swords:
Brethren not attached to Lodges, two and two:
The Lodge *Perseverance*, of Bombay, two and two:
As Wardens, Brs. A. Larkworthy, and H. Creed.
V. W. Br. H. J. Barr, Master.
The Provincial Grand Stewards' Lodge, two and two.
Wardens Brs. W. K. Fogerty, and J. Maland.
V. W. Br. J. Harrison, Master, with Wand:

* Dr MACKIE retired from practice in April 1844. On quitting Bombay some special recognition of his worth was made by the members of every class of the community with which he had been connected: the value of the testimonials bestowed on him exceeded £2000. In all benevolent and kindly acts, and in whatever leads to the practical good of his patients, Dr BREMNER, who succeeded to his practice, walks in his footsteps. Dr MACKIE died in Scotland on the 15th March, 1849.

The Architect of the Building.
Br. W. Goodfellow, with the Plan:
Provincial Grand Guard, W. Br. T. Gardiner, with Sword;
Prov. Grand Pursuivant, V. W. Br. J. C. Ibbs, with Wand:
Prov. Grand Marshals, V. W. Brs. J. S. Unwin, and Arnold Wilson, bearing Batons:
Prov. Grand Director of Ceremonies, V. W. Br. J. S. Lawless, with Cornucopia:
Prov. Grand Superintendent of Works, V. W. Br. R. Frith, with Mallet:
Past Prov. Grand Junior Deacon, V. W. Br. C. A. West, with Cup of Oil:
Past Prov. Grand Senior Deacon, V. W. Br. W. Purnell, with Cup of Wine:
Prov. Grand Treasurer, V. W. Br. W. W. Cargill, with the Bottle of Coins:
Present and Past Prov. Grand Registrars,
V. W. Bros. R. M'Kim and W. Howard, with the Inscribed Plate:
Present and Past Prov. Grand Secretaries,
V. W. Brs. W. Blowers and Spencer Compton, with the Book of Constitutions:
Past Provincial Grand Officers, V. W. Brs. J. Glen, and C. B. Skinner:
R. W. Brs. T. Valiant, K. H., J. Skinner, and J. Griffith, Past Grand Wardens.
R. W. Brs. J. P. Willoughby, and W. Crawford, Junior Prov. Grand Wardens.
R. W. Br. Neil Campbell, with the Plumb;
Senior Prov. Grand Warden, R. W. Br. L. R. Reid, with the Level:
Volume of the Sacred Law, carried by the V. W. Br. M. Willoughby:
Prov. Grand Chaplain, V. W. Br. Geo. Buist, LL. D.
Deputy Prov. Grand Master, R. W. Br. P. W. LeGeyt, with the Square:
Prov. Grand Standard-Bearers, V. W. Brs. G. Rowley, and E. Danvers,
with the Banner of the P. G. M.
Officiating P. Provincial Grand Master,
R. W. Br. The Hon. G. W. Anderson, with the Silver Trowel:
Prov. Grand Sword Bearers, V. W. Brs. J. Boyd, and F. L. Arthur:
THE PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER,
R. W. Br. J. Burnes, K. H.:
The Prov. Grand Deacons in a line seven feet apart,
V. W. Br. J. Chalmers, and H. B. Herrick.
Prov. Grand Pursuivant, V. W. Br. A. W. Elliott, with Wand:
Past Master of the Prov. Grand Stewards, V. W. Br. E. A. Farquharson:
Two Prov. Grand Stewards, with Wands, Brs. Eckford and J. W. Renny.
Prov. Grand Guard, W. Br. G. S. Collett, with Sword.

On the Procession reaching the ground it halted and faced inwards, forming a broad line through which the Prov. Grand Master, and the Prov. and Deputy Prov. Grand Masters, passed to the East of the Foundation stone—Brs. Reid, and J. Willoughby, taking their position on the West, and Brs N. Campbell and W. Crawford on the south, and Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy and his son Cursetjee Jamsetjee, Esq., on the north of the stone,—Music was then played, and the Architect of the building presented the plan to the Prov. Grand Master. The Registrar and Treasurer also presented the Inscribed Plate and the Coins.

The Plate, Plan, and Coins, were then submitted to the Hon. the Governor and Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, and the Prov. Grand Master having expressed his gratification at His Excellency's presence, the Inscription on the Plate was read aloud by the Deputy Prov. Grand Master.

In the Reign of Her Most Gracious Majesty

VICTORIA,

And under the Government of
EDWARD LORD ELLENBOROUGH—*Governor-General of India;*
GEORGE MARQUIS OF TWEEDDALE, K. T.—*being Governor of Madras;*
AND
THE HONORABLE SIR GEORGE ARTHUR, BART, K. C. H.—*Governor of Bombay,*
The Foundation Stone of

THE JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY HOSPITAL

Was laid with Masonic honors, in the presence of
SIR JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY,
The Founder, and of
HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR,
By JAMES BURNES, K. H.,
Provincial Grand Master of Western India;
Assisted by
The Hon. Geo. W. Anderson, Prov. P. P. G. M.
P. W. LeGeyt, Esq., D. P. G. M.
Lestock R. Reid, Esq., P. G. S. W.
Lieutenant-Colonel Neil Campbell, P. G. J. W.
Captain W. Goodfellow, the Architect,
And a numerous Convocation of the Craft.
On Tuesday, the 3rd day of January, in the year of the Christian Era, 1843,
And of Masonry 5843.

THIS EDIFICE
Was erected as a testimony of devoted loyalty to
THE YOUNG QUEEN OF THE BRITISH ISLES,

And of unmingled respect for the just and paternal
BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN INDIA,
Also, in affectionate and patriotic solicitude for the welfare of the poor classes of all races among his countrymen, the British Subjects of Bombay,
By SIR JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY, Knight
The first Native of India honoured with British Knighthood,
Who thus hoped to perform a pleasing duty
Towards his government, his country, and his people:
And, in solemn remembrance of blessings bestowed, to present this,
His offering of religious gratitude, to
ALMIGHTY GOD,
The Father in Heaven—of the Christian—the Hindoo—the Mahommedan—and the Parsee,
With humble, earnest prayer, for his continued care and blessing
Upon his children—his family—his tribe—and his country.

The Provincial Grand Master, the Prov. and Depy. Prov. Grand Masters, and the Grand Wardens, then descended into the trench, and the stone having been raised by the united aid of the Brethren, the Depy. Prov. Grand Master deposited the Coins and the Inscribed Plate in their respective places, and spread the cement with a trowel After which the stone was lowered into its destined bed, conducted by the Deputy Prov. Grand Master and the Architect—solemn music playing.

The Pro Grand Master then addressed the Prov. Grand Officers:—"Right worshipful brethren, we shall now apply the various implements of our royal craft, borne by you to this stone, that it may be laid in its bed according to the rules of Architecture, and in conformity with our ancient rites and usages."—R. W. B. Junior G. Warden—"What is the emblem of your office?"—to which the reply was, "The Plumb, R. W. Sir, which I now present for your use." The Level and Square having in like manner been presented by R. W. Brs. Reid and LeGeyt,—the stone was proved by these implements by the P. G. Master, who pronounced it to be "WELL FORMED, TRUE, AND TRUSTY." The Mallet was then handed by Brother Goodfellow to the P. G. Master, who delivered it to the R. W. Br. Anderson, who struck the stone with it thrice, and the Prov. G. Master having then also struck the stone three times, repeated the prayer—"May the Great Architect of the Universe grant a blessing on this Stone, which we have now laid, and enable us by his Providence to finish this, and every other virtuous undertaking. Amen, so mote it be." The grand officers and brethren gave the usual response and masonic honors. The Prov. Grand Master then delivered the implements to the Architect, and addressed him as follows:—Br. William Goodfellow, the skill and fidelity displayed by you at the commencement of this undertaking have secured the entire approbation of your brethren; and they sincerely pray that the Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Hospital may be a lasting monument of your wisdom and taste, and of the noble spirit and splendid liberality of its founder. The Cornucopia and cups of Wine and Oil, were then presented by the respective bearers, through the P. G. Wardens and D. P. G. Master, to the P. G Master, who, having poured them on the stone, said:—"May the all-bounteous Author of Nature bless the inhabitants of this place with all the necessaries, conveniences, and comforts of life; assist in the erection and completion of this building; protect the workmen against every accident, and long preserve this structure from decay. Amen! so mote it be." The Brethren again gave the usual response, and the masonic honours.

Dr. Burnes then addressed Sir Jamsetjee in the following terms,—

SIR JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY—

Many and memorable have been the occasions on which the deeds of charitable and philanthropic men have been consecrated by the ancient rites and ceremonies of our Masonic Craft, but never have those ceremonies been employed to aid a purpose more congenial to the feelings of the upright Mason, or the true-hearted lover of his species, than the present. The splendid structure which you here propose to dedicate to the relief of your fellow creatures, as well as the many other transcendant acts of benevolence that have characterized your career, are, like our Masonic Institution itself, kindred and goodly fruits of the most generous emotion that can swell the bosom of man towards man,—the desire to succour his brother in distress, and to give free scope to that ever-hallowed charity,—

"Which droppeth as the gentle rain from Heaven,
And blesseth Him that gives, and Him that takes."

It is with a cordial sympathy, therefore, as well as with sincere pride and gratification, that the Masonic fraternity of Bombay have responded to your summons, and borne their emblems to this spot to-day. And when the record of these proceedings shall be read within the houses of our Order, dispersed throughout the civilized world, our brethren also, of every tongue and nation, will rejoice that we have been aiding you in this good work; and will participate with us in exultation, that by far the foremost man for deeds of true wisdom in this portion of the globe, has also, in giving effect to munificent designs of love and charity, been the first of his tribe and country to solicit the countenance of our brotherhood.

It has been usual to explain these ceremonies; and in this the first instance of their being practised at Bombay, it is essential that I should at least guard against their being misinterpreted. There is one portion of them which will awaken a sympathy in the bosom of every reflecting individual even of this vast assemblage,—composed, though it be, of men of all varieties of sects, customs, and habits of thought,—since no condition of society exists, in which, at the season of doubt and anxiety, but especially at the commencement of a momentous undertaking,—the plan of which he may conceive, but the execution of which depends on a far mightier than he,—man will not feel his absolute dependance on the Omnipotent Creator, and, by a natural instinct, turn to his throne for support. But the impulse which prompts this appeal acquires intensity, when the frail and transitory being contemplates the erection of an

enduring and stupendous structure which may rear its stately head for centuries after he is mouldering in the dust,—and hence, from the remotest ages, and in almost all countries, the foundation stone of important edifices has been deposited, with an impressive solemnity, indicative of the founder's humble trust, and fervent prayer, that the Great Architect of the Universe may prosper his work, and ever shower down his bounty and blessings upon it. As visible types of those blessings, it has also been usual, in accordance with a practice which needs no elucidation amongst a people long accustomed to shadow forth solemn truths by symbols and allegory,—to pour forth, with a spirit of hope and thankfulness, the abundant fruits of the earth on the first corner stone,—in the corn of nourishment, the wine of refreshment, and the oil of joy. Such, then, is the simple origin of one portion of these ceremonies, which so far will be recognised as analogous to those performed by one of our most distinguished Parsee families in laying the foundation keels of some of those superb vessels which of late years have brought Great Britain and India into closer and dearer connexion.

The other part of the ceremony I have more difficulty in explaining, not that it is less clear to myself, but that there are certain landmarks which I must not transgress, and within the strict limits of which, explanation may be embarrassing. But I do not despair to render it also intelligible, and your character and conduct, my worthy friend, afford me scope for doing so. You have seen me then, apply certain implements of operative architecture to this stone, in accordance with the ancient and immemorial usage of our Order at the foundation of all stately and superb edifices.—But, you are too enlightened a man to suppose that the essence of Free Masonry lies in a mere formality like this, or that those about me and myself have linked ourselves together in an indissoluble tie, only to practice ceremonial or display. No! as the corn, the wine, and the oil, were symbols of God's bounty and providence, calling forth reverence and gratitude to the Creator, so also, even this stone, and those implements, are emblems, conveying to the enlightened Mason pure and precious precepts of his duty to his neighbour. They are, in truth, tokens of a great and practical system of universal goodwill and benevolence,—which, establishing moral worth as the standard, welcomes to its bosom the *good* of every colour, clime, or creed, that acknowledges God,—which binds you, whose name and deeds fill men's mouths, as those of the "benevolent Parsee of Bombay," and *longo intervallo*, myself, the child of Northern Europe, and all who are willing to work with us to "mitigate the sum of human woe," into one vast chain of fraternity and love,—which enforces the most devout reverence to the Supreme Architect, and the strictest conscientious duty to our earthly rulers; but, at the same time, peremptorily excludes all discussions on points of faith, state politics, or other questions likely to excite the angry passions of man against man,—and which, in short, is founded on the glorious principle, that

"God hath made mankind one mighty brotherhood,
Himself the Master, and the world their Lodge."

Many of those eminent individuals whose names are dearest to India, have been professors and promoters of this vast system. To the Right Worshipful Brother by my side *

* The Honourable Mr Anderson.

You will recognise one, from whom even you have obtained encouragement; and who has, with zeal and fervency, devoted his gifts as a man, and his power as a Governor, to the dissemination of charity and enlightenment amongst your countrymen. The late Marquis of Hastings, certainly inferior to none of the illustrious men that Europe has lent to Asia, was a stately pillar of our craft; and there is a valued and elevated brother present, who could testify how deeply its principles influenced the conduct of that distinguished soldier and statesman. The present ruler of India showed his respect for it, by demanding, as late as 1836, that a legislative enactment should be so expressed as not to reflect upon its members. We have lately seen the government of a Sister Presidency, transferred from one noble brother to another, and if we cannot include amongst us the distinguished officer who presides at Bombay, we have the satisfaction of seeing his son amongst our office bearers.

Through the mercy of Providence, from the earliest period, the system I have described has been in operation, assuaging the horrors of strife, and encouraging the spread of civilization; and while your remote fore-fathers were bowing with adoration to the glorious Orb of day, the visible source of light, heat, and productiveness,—our ancient brethren, if they were not identical with them, were also, by the symbols of the sun, the moon, and the starry firmament, inculcating the mighty truths of God's power, omnipresence, and divinity, and of man's responsibility, hope, and final destiny,—thereby evincing their sympathy and connection with those

"Who morn and eve,
Had their Creator's dwelling-place
Among the lights of Heaven."

I have said that your life and character afford scope for illustrating our system; and I now turn to my Masonic brethren, and present you to them, as a brother who has practically attained the summit of the Masonic structure, which is CHARITY. Never forgetting that you commenced, and must end, upon the level,—following the plumb-line of rectitude,—acting on the square with your fellow-men,—circumscribing your own wants within compass, but extending your benevolence to a circle, which, if it depended upon you, would evidently embrace all mankind—we need not wonder that you have attained the highest elevation of moral worth,—that the love of your family, the respect of your fellow-citizens, the applause of men, and rewards from your Sovereign, have flowed in upon you, and that, above all, you enjoy the serenity of mind arising from the inexpressible delight of having succoured the distressed,

"Which nothing earthly gives, or can destroy."

And although, my friend, it has not fallen to us, who are, after all, but "nature's journeymen," to initiate you into our mysteries, we cannot doubt, after the splendid deeds of love which you have achieved, that you are a wise master-builder,—a living stone, squared, po-

lished, fashioned, and proved, by the hand of the Great Master himself,—that your patent is from the Grand Chancery above,—and that you need neither sign nor token, warrant nor diploma, pass word nor grip, to ensure you a welcome to the heart of every honest mason.

May you, Sir Jamsetjee, like the foundation we have laid, long be stable and secure,—may you, for years, be spared as the corner stone of charity, the prop and support of the widow and the fatherless,—may your good deeds form a constant source of enjoyment to yourself while you remain amongst men; and when the time does come that overtakes us all, and the solemn Tyler Death must raise the curtain of a new existence,—may it be to usher you in, as an accepted and exalted companion, to the Supreme Chapter on high, there to take your place under the all-seeing eye of HIM, who seeth not as man seeth, but who will undoubtedly pay the workman his wages according to his work.

Sir JAMSETJEE replied as follows:—Right Worshipful Sir, I feel beyond measure gratified that you and your Masonic brethren have attended on this occasion to do so much honour to the Foundation of the Hospital which it is here proposed to erect. I was most desirous to obtain the countenance of your fraternity, because, to say nothing of the regard and esteem I entertain for yourself, and many of my valued friends whom I see supporting you, I have heard of its great antiquity, its universal benevolence, its toleration: and I know also that its objects are those of pure charity to all mankind. I have no language to express myself in return for the observations you have made of myself, but I trust I shall ever retain the good will and favourable opinion of my friends. I have also cordially to thank Sir Geo. Arthur, Sir Thomas M'Mahon, and the many Ladies and Gentlemen whom I see here, for their attendance, which, I cannot but feel, evinces on their part a deep interest in this new institution, which is most gratifying to me.

Three cheers having been given in honour of Sir JAMSETJEE, the procession returned in the same order in which it had arrived. Before the Lodge was closed, it was unanimously resolved that Dr. BURNES be requested to permit the publication of his speech, that it might be circulated wherever members of the craft were to be found.

Nothing could have gone off better or with more eclat;—the whole arrangements were perfect, and the spectacle very imposing.

The following account of the establishment of the Grant Medical College is taken from the report of Dr. MOREHEAD:—

SIR ROBERT GRANT, shortly after he entered upon the Government of Bombay in the year 1835, directed his attention to the expediency of establishing a Native Medical School at the Presidency. The subject was one in which he was deeply interested, but, for many reasons, it was necessary to enter upon its investigation with much cautious deliberation; and as a preliminary measure it seemed to be of importance to encourage amongst the Medical Officers of the Establishment a spirit of scientific enquiry as a means calculated to elevate the character of their profession, and to qualify them for co-operation in this philanthropic design.

Influenced by these considerations, Sir Robert Grant took advantage of every opportunity of urging upon the Medical Officers with whom he was brought more immediately into communication, the benefits that might result from forming a Scientific Medical Association in connection with the Public Service.

In this manner the Medical and Physical Society of Bombay took its rise.

Early in the year 1837, shortly after the Medical Society had become fairly organized, the attention of its Managing Committee was directed by the Government to the subject of Native Medical Education.

The records relating to the abolition of a former Medical School were communicated, and the Committee was requested to submit its matured opinion on the expediency of instituting a more complete and comprehensive system of Medical instruction.

At the same time a series of queries were proposed by the Government to various Medical Officers of experience and to other functionaries in the several districts of the Presidency. This enquiry had in view to elicit a true statement of the condition of Native Medical practice in the Provinces, and to ascertain by every practicable means whether there existed prejudices likely to operate as an obstacle to the introduction of a better system.

The time was well fitted for these proceedings of Sir Robert Grant's Government. The Bengal Medical College had been two years in operation, and by its success had triumphantly exposed the fallacy of the visionary opinions and imagined difficulties which but a few years before had led to the abolition of medical education at Bombay.

The Committee of the Medical Society was enabled to report favorably. The enquiry instituted by the Government showed Native Medical practice throughout the Presidency to be in a most degraded state, and gave no encouragement to the idea that prejudice would be found to stand in the way of its amelioration.

With these data before him, Sir Robert Grant drew up a most able minute, in which the subject of the Medical Education of the Natives of this Presidency is fully discussed, and in which those principles are laid down and plans of instruction proposed which form the groundwork of the system at present pursued in the School which has been honored with the name of this distinguished Statesman.

The minute which thus advocated the establishment of a Medical School in Bombay, and proposed the means by which it was to be effected, was transmitted to Calcutta about the middle of the year 1838. It was approved by Lord Auckland's Government, but before this intelligence had reached Bombay, Sir Robert Grant was no more.*

"The burst of grief throughout this Presidency, and indeed the whole of Hindoostan, at the tidings of his death, is such as was perhaps scarcely ever equalled. Few, very few, Governors

* He died at Dapooree on the 9th July, 1838.

have fallen in India itself; and the purity of his administration, the splendour of his talents, the vast amount of good he had achieved, the excellency of his private character, the sincerity and dignity of his piety, the very overstrained efforts under which he sank, broke upon every mind." *

A public meeting was held in the Town Hall at Bombay, on the 28th July, at which the following Resolutions were passed.

I. "That this Meeting, deeply sensible of the greatness of the loss which this Presidency has sustained in the lamented death of Sir Robert Grant, G. C. H., its late distinguished Governor, and actuated by the admiration of his rare endowments, and veneration for his excellent character and exalted Christian virtues, and moved by gratitude for the numerous acts of his public administration, calculated to advance the improvement of the country and the welfare of all classes of its inhabitants, and anxious to hold up his example to the world, considers it a public duty to adopt measures for preserving his memory in this place."

II. "That a Subscription be immediately opened for the formation of a fund to be devoted to the public commemoration of Sir Robert Grant."

III. "That while it is the duty of all classes of the community to express their respect for the departed by uniting in the proposed subscription, it is peculiarly incumbent on those to come forward who are able to appreciate the many public measures which he either originated or carried into effect for improving the agricultural resources of the country, facilitating the communication with Europe, and also between the towns and provinces of the Presidency, and improving its commerce and general prosperity."

IV. "That there is a peculiar propriety in commemorating Sir Robert Grant in connection with the cause of the education of the Natives, of which he was the enlightened friend, the eloquent advocate, and the liberal patron and supporter."

V. "That on condition that the Medical College, so ably planned and so zealously advocated by Sir Robert Grant, be established and bear his name, the fund be applied under the direction of a Committee to be nominated by this Meeting, to the erection of a suitable building for that Seminary, or the foundation of Scholarships to be conferred after public competition on its most deserving pupils; and that in the event of the Medical College not being established as expected, the fund shall be applied in such manner as may be agreed upon by the contributors."

The Hon'ble Court of Directors sanctioned the plan of a Medical School as proposed by Sir Robert Grant, and authorized its being designated "THE GRANT MEDICAL COLLEGE."

The fund subscribed amounted to Rs. 44,800. The Hon'ble Court of Directors contributed an equal sum to defray the cost of the College Building.†

The succeeding three years were passed in the deliberations of Committees, and in references to the Home Authorities, and at length the foundation stone of the edifice was laid on the 3 th March 1843, by the Lord Bishop of Calcutta. It was completed in October 1845, and made over to the Superintendent of the College, in whose reports the further history of the Institution will be found detailed.

To render more complete the history of the GRANT MEDICAL COLLEGE, it is necessary to explain the origin of its School of Practice, the JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY HOSPITAL.

In the plan of a Medical School proposed by Sir Robert Grant, it was contemplated that the Native General Hospital of Bombay, in an improved state, would afford the means of clinical instruction.

Early in the year 1838, Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy offered to pay into the Government Treasury the sum of one lakh of Rupees, provided the Government would contribute an equal sum, and grant interest at the rate of 6 per cent on both contributions. The annual income thus resulting to be expended on an Hospital established for the relief of the sick Native poor of all denominations. This most liberal proposal was submitted to the Government shortly before the transmission of Sir Robert Grant's minute to Calcutta, and was noticed in a postscript to the minute as calculated to facilitate the arrangements for the Medical School.

The Hon'ble Court of Directors acceded to the wishes of Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, and the Committees which were constituted to arrange the preliminary details of the Grant Medical College were also required to consider those of the proposed hospital, and to point out the most advantageous manner of connecting the two Institutions.

As a result of these deliberations it was finally determined to build the Hospital in the close proximity of the Medical College, to designate it the Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Hospital; to construct it for the accommodation of 300 sick, just regard being paid to prejudices of caste; to close the Native General Hospital on the opening of the new Institution; to constitute the Professors of the Medical College the Medical Officers of the Hospital; to place it under the control of the Superintending Surgeon and the Medical Board, subject to the scrutiny of an Honorary Board of three managers, of whom Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy or his representative was to be one, the other two being nominated by Government.‡

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* Address of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta on laying the Foundation Stone of the Grant Medical College on the 3 th March 1843.

† Cost of constructing the Grant Medical College..... ....Rs. 89,906 4 2

Subscribed by the friends of Sir Robert Grant	Rs.	44,800	0 0
Contributed by the Hon'ble Court of Directors	,,	45,106	4 2

‡ The cost of 300 patients, estimated at Rs. 33,000 per annum, to be provided as follows:—

Interest of 4 per cent. on Sir J. Jejeebhoy's contribution.....	Rs.	4,000	
Do do the Hon'ble Court of Directors' contribution	,,	4,000	
Donation by Government, being difference between 4 and 6 per cent. on both contributions.....	,,	4,000	

The Foundation Stone of the Hospital Building * was laid on the 3rd January 1843, with masonic honours, by R. W. the Provincial Grand Master of Western India, Dr. James Burnes, K. H.

It was opened for the reception of the sick in the month of May 1845, when the Native General Hospital was closed, and its inmates transferred to the new building.

The Medical College has also the advantage of possessing endowments for the reward and encouragement of deserving students. These are the *Farish*, *Carnac*, and *Anderson* Scholarship Funds, the *Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Medical Book* Fund, and the *Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Medical Prize* Fund. The Scholarship funds were subscribed by the friends of the Hon'ble Mr Farish, in conformity with a resolution passed at a public meeting held on the 18th February 1841; by those of Sir James Carnac, at a meeting held on the 22nd April 1841; by those of the Hon'ble Mr Anderson, at a meeting held on the 16th February 1844.

The following are the Resolutions which were passed at these respective Meetings:—

I. "Resolved, that a Scholarship designated after Mr Farish be formed in the Grant Medical College."

This Resolution was proposed to the meeting by Mr Willoughby in the following words:—

"I am of opinion, that we could not have selected any mode more appropriate or more congenial to the feelings of him whom we design to honor, than the one I am about to propose, that Mr Farish's name shall be for ever associated with an Institution which is to be devoted to the advancement of Medical knowledge and science, and to the relief of suffering humanity, and raised by the joint munificence of this community and of the Hon'ble Court of Directors, to perpetuate the memory and virtues of a kindred spirit, the much lamented, the late, Sir Robert Grant."

II. "Resolved, that the sum of ten thousand (Rs. 10,000) Rupees be set apart for the foundation of a Scholarship in the Grant Medical College, to be denominated the *Carnac* Scholarship, as an appropriate record of the interest Sir James R. Carnac has taken in the establishment of that Institution, and the zealous support he has afforded it both in England and in India from its first submission to the notice and patronage of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors to the present time."

III. "That the funds realized by the public subscription for a testimonial to the Hon'ble Mr Anderson, be appropriated in his name to such Scholarships and Prizes as the Governors of that Institution may deem best adapted for the promotion of Medical Science."†

Two other magnificent public works at this time occupied the attention of Sir JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY—the construction of the Velard and Bridge connecting the Island of Bombay with Salsette, and the embankment for procuring a supply of water to the Parsee quarter and the cantonments of the City of Poona. The European reader may require to be informed that the Island of Bombay—one of a numerous group fringing the Malabar Coast—is some seven miles in length, and three in breadth, containing an area of about twenty square miles, and occupied by above 350,000 human beings. Though beautiful and romantic to a degree, consisting of rich flats of alluvium and jagged peaks and promontories of trap rock, it is so little fertile that the whole produce of the island would scarcely supply one day's food to its inhabitants. It is about sixteen miles from the nearest mainland, from which it is separated by various islands, the largest of which is Salsette—the most celebrated the cave-templed Elephanta. Through Salsette, the two great leading lines of road to the interior extend,—the island itself being the main source of vegetables and other fresh provisions for Bombay; and the principal line

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Subscription of Rs. 300 monthly granted by Government to Native Dispensary .. .. „ 3,600
Estimated annual expense of Native General Hospital after deducting Surg's Salary. „ 11,614
Annual further sum to be made up by Government .. .. „ 6,386

Rupees 30,000

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* Cost of constructing the Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Hospital... .... ..Rs. 1,35,706 10 3

Contributed by Sir J. Jejeebhoy.... ....Rs. 50,000 0 0
Do by Government.. .... „ 85,706 10 3
1,35,706 10 3

Further sum paid by Government for purchase of ground, building and other purposes..... ....Rs. 61,131
Further sum paid by Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy for clock and tower, purchase of ground, &c..... . ... „ 8,531

† The following were the sums subscribed for these funds:—
Farish Scholarship Fund..... ....Rs. 7,960
Carnac Ditto ditto..... .... „ 10,000
Anderson Ditto ditto..... .... „ 10,700
Deposited in the Government Treasury, and bear interest at 6 per cent.

of traffic is separated from the mainland by one narrow creek, and from Bombay by another. The distance from shore to shore varies—from a mile to four hundred yards in breadth. The following account of the Ferry is taken from the *Bombay Times* of the 9th April 1845—the report of the proceedings when the road was opened is copied from the *Gentleman's Gazette* of the 10th April, 1845:—

THE CAUSEWAY between Mahim and Bandora was opened on last Tuesday evening, in a manner which did honour, not only to the Founder of that most useful structure, but to the Inhabitants of Bombay.

From an early hour the road leading to Mahim was thronged with vehicles, in which the Natives of every description hastened to the neighbourhood of the Causeway, and soon after three o'clock the carriages of the Europeans and wealthy Inhabitants began to appear. From that hour the way to Mahim presented a most animated appearance. The villages through the Toddy tree groves of Mahim were swarming with spectators, at the long line of carriages of every description which passed on before them.

The arrangements made by the Police were excellent; Constables were stationed at different barriers to keep the order required. At half past four o'clock the carriages were drawn up in line from the end of the approach to the Causeway to the termination of the town. They were stationed on the side of the road so as to allow those to pass on which were to take the lead in the Procession.

At half past four o'clock the Honorable the Governor's carriage came to the grand entrance of Parell Palace, and the Governor and Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Knight entered it, the latter having the seat of Honour at the Governor's right hand. Escorted by the Lancers, and followed by the Aides-de-Camp, and the Staff of the Garrison, &c. &c., they proceeded to Mahim, a distance of nearly three miles.

At five o'clock they approached the Causeway, and the Procession began from the front of Mahim Church, in the following order. The Engineer Officer who constructed the Causeway, Captain Crulkshank, who was represented by Captain Marriott. The Establishment of the Engineer. The first part of the Lancers. The Governor's Band The Honorable the Governor's carriage. Captain Arthur, the Governor's Private Secretary on the one side, and Cursetjee Jamsetjee Esq., on the left, with many other Gentlemen at the back. The personal retinue of the Honorable the Governor. The carriages following in single line were those of the COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, of the MEMBERS OF COUNCIL, of the SECRETARIES, of many Civil Servants, of the Staff, and of the leading persons in the Society of this Island. A party of Lancers closed the procession.

A triumphal Arch was erected at entrance of the Causeway, and as the procession moved along it the coup d'œil was magnificent. The Bells of the Church rang a merry peal. The groups that thronged around the sides of the way leading to the entrance in their white dresses gave an air of splendor to the whole view. The great length of the procession, the moving spectacle around, the calm and beautiful expanse of water on both sides of the Causeway, the triumphal Arches at the Mahim and Bandora entrances, the splendid Pavilion erected under the well known large tree on the Bandora shore, require not to be described.

When the head of the procession reached the centre of the Causeway, a Royal Salute was fired from four guns stationed on the Salsette sands under the command of Captain Unwin.

The Causeway was adorned with flags at regular distances, and about 150 seats were placed on the foot ways for the benefit of the pedestrians. It was satisfactory to behold the arrangements thus made for the convenience of all classes.

In the dwelling house of the chief Native Officer of Bandora (Comavisador,) and near the Pavilion, Lady Jamsetjee with her family had taken their station, and on alighting from their carriages the Honorable the Governor and all the leading Members of the Company and their Ladies then proceeded to offer to her Ladyship their congratulations on the completion of the Causeway.

At six o'clock the last of the Carriages arrived at the Pavilion, where refreshments were prepared in the most sumptuous style. It was a beautiful sight to see the Panorama in the Pavilion, where the Ladies of Bombay, the Members of the Government, and the Secretaries and the Civil Servants, the number of Officers, Military, Medical and Naval, of the Gentlemen of the Bar, of the Mercantile Houses &c. &c., all seemed pleased on witnessing the public ceremony of opening the Causeway from Mahim to Bandora.

At half past six o'clock Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy stood at the head of the table, when the Honourable the Governor Sir George Arthur, supported by Sir T. McMahon, the Commander-in-Chief, the Members of Council &c., addressed him in the following manner:—

"SIR JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY.—It gives me sincere pleasure to address you on this occasion, after having passed over the noble Causeway which, through the munificence of your family, has been erected for the benefit of the public. I myself, as well as every one present, can bear testimony to the value of this splendid and most useful work. It affords me therefore high gratification to address you, for I have to speak on a subject which is interesting to us all—to every one now present—and its interest is best proved by this numerous assembly. As the exact circumstances under which this Causeway has been constructed may not be known to all the Company, I shall give a short explanatory history of the undertaking. Some years ago the Government of this Presidency seeing the advantages of a regular communication between the islands of Bombay and Salsette, and being anxious to connect the towns of Mahim and Bandora by a causeway, had the ground surveyed, plans taken, and the estimates of the probable expence of the proposed work calculated. The expence of such an undertaking, it was reported, would be 67,000 Rs. The expences of Government at the time being very great, the matter was allowed to remain in abeyance until more favourable

opportunity should arise it not being considered of so great importance as other proposed improvements then before the Government. This took place some years ago, and the plans remained unexecuted until the Monsoon of 1841, I believe, when a distressing accident occurred at the ferry here. A boat was swamped, and a number of poor natives, I think about 15, lost their lives. This distressing accident was of course a subject of conversation amongst the people, and came to the ears of Lady Jamsetjee, who was greatly pained at its consequences to the families of the sufferers. She spoke to you and asked you why the Government did not endeavour to remedy an evil which was the cause of such misery among the poor of Salsette? The answer was—that the Government was fully occupied on other matters of importance, and that according to the estimates it would not only require the large sum already stated, but, moreover, that a second estimate had been made out, by which it was calculated that a further sum would be required amounting altogether to one Lakh of Rupees. "Let the consent of the Government be obtained," was the answer of this noble-minded woman, "and I will defray all expenses." The consent of Government was then obtained, and the work commenced, but it was soon discovered that further sums would be necessary to bring it to completion. Application was made to the Court of Directors for their aid and co-operation, when they, with the liberality which has always characterized their proceedings, when called upon to assist the benevolent natives in their good undertakings, gave their assent. Various other sums were however required and still supplied by Lady Jamsetjee, till at length, after an expenditure of 155,000 Rupees, the structure was completed. It was then suggested that so handsome a structure demanded an equally handsome approach to it, for which it was calculated a sum of 20,000 Rupees would be required, which further expenditure was entirely defrayed by that noble-minded person Lady Jamsetjee. Thus after an expenditure of 175,000 Rupees has this great and most useful work been perfected, which reflects so great an honor on the kind, the charitable, the benevolent Lady, who has thus conferred a lasting benefit on the inhabitants of these islands whether rich or poor; but more especially by the poorer classes has this great benefit been felt, as by this noble donation their means of transit have been rendered permanently secure, and their lives ensured to them from danger. As they have not the opportunity of rendering their thanks to Lady Jamsetjee in person, I am sure you will all unite with me in thanking her in their name, and so perpetuate this noble deed. I this day propose that the Causeway henceforth bear the name of "LADY JAMSETJEE'S CAUSEWAY" (Loud Cheers.)—I have said that it gives me pleasure to address you, Sir Jamsetjee, on this occasion, and the cause of that pleasure is, that I am acquainted with your deeds of benevolence and your unbounded munificence at least in part, for you have kept many of your good and generous actions concealed from me. Yes, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have been cognizant of only some of the charities of this most liberal person, and when, a short time after my arrival in this Government, I took occasion to add up the amount of the then known charities of Sir Jamsetjee, being ignorant of much more that has since come to my knowledge—you will doubtless be surprised when I tell you that it amounted at that time to no less a sum that 100,000 pounds sterling, or ten Lakhs of Rupees (cheers). The character of Sir J. Jejeebhoy is known all over the world. Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen has expressed her approval of his conduct, and Her high sense of his benevolence and munificence, in proof of which she has been pleased to bestow upon him that special mark of distinction which is now hanging on his breast, and which I account as one of the fortunate occurrences in my life, that I had the honor of presenting it to him (Loud cheers). We have all heard of the munificence of the British Merchants, but give me a Bombay Merchant for generosity, the extensive proofs of which we every day behold. It gives me therefore, unfeigned satisfaction, in the presence of so many of the inhabitants of these two islands, to express my sense of the good, the humane and the magnanimous conduct of Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, and his equally generous consort. My earnest wish is that as their meritorious acts increase, so may also increase the length and happiness of their lives (great applause). I believe, Sir Jamsetjee, that acts of charity form part of the religion of your communion. I will not say much on that score, but I am sure that no one will regard such deeds of charity performed by one of God's creatures, whatever his creed may be, without feelings of the deepest respect, and all acts arising from such motives deserve the very greatest regard. Ladies and Gentlemen, the noble structure over which we have this day passed has been named after its noble hearted founder, "Lady Jamsetjee's Causeway." Let us now drink with enthusiasm to the health of Lady Jamsetjee."

The toast was drank with every expression of enthusiasm.

Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy then addressed the Company as follows:—

"LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.—Allow me to return you my warmest thanks for your kindness in drinking the health of Lady Jamsetjee, and in doing so I cannot avoid expressing how gratified and flattered I am by this large assembly of my friends. To you Sir George Arthur, and to those Ladies, who have come so far to grace this Ceremony with their presence, I am under infinite obligations. It is a compliment I deeply feel, as, I am satisfied, will Lady Jamsetjee, who has looked forward to the opening of this Causeway as one of the happiest moments of her life, and who could receive no more grateful appreciation of her motives than the presence on this occasion of so many of her Sex.

"The Honble the Governor has spoken of this work as one emanating in charity towards the Poor, and I may truly say that it did so, for though such an undertaking had long previously been recommended to Government by its Officers as calculated to produce great public good, yet Lady Jamsetjee's offer to contribute largely towards it on the condition that no tolls should be levied on the public, was I believe the result of a pure desire to benefit the poor in many ways, and amongst others in preventing those accidents to which Sir George Arthur has so feelingly alluded.

"I may be permitted to say thus much of the origin of a work of great public utility which

did not emanate from me, but which, from domestic causes, I cannot otherwise regard than with feelings of the greatest pride and satisfaction.

"The Hon'ble the Governor has alluded to former acts of charity on my part I am sure I shall stand excused in not further adverting to them on this occasion, but it is grateful to me to know that my motives and conduct are appreciated by the Head of the Government.

"I should now but ill consult my own feelings, were I to omit to say how much I regret the absence of that able officer Captain Cruickshank, under whose superintendence this Causeway has been commenced and completed. I should have been glad of the opportunity of tendering him personally, and in the presence of this distinguished assembly, my best thanks for the zeal and ability with which he has devoted himself to this undertaking: to him are we indebted for so early and successful a completion of the work, which it is only due to him to pronounce as perfect in its construction.

"I once again beg to offer you my sincere thanks for your kindness in meeting me on an occasion so full of interest to myself, and for the generous warmth with which you have responded to the toast proposed by the Hon'ble the Governor."

Three cheers were then unanimously given for Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Knight, by all the Company.

The Hon'ble the Governor soon after gave his arm to Sir Jamsetjee, and both left the Pavilion together.

Every attention was shewn to the Native Gentlemen.

The Bharwarrees, Parsees, and other Native Merchants of respectability, were invited for three o'clock, and the whole of the arrangements respecting them were admirably conducted under the especial direction of Cursetjee Jamsetjee Esq. He was indefatigable in his endeavours—he remained on horseback from two until six o'clock.

The night came on, and as the carriages on their return emerged from the groves of Mahim, their lights, as they moved rapidly along, proved that there had been many collected to do honour to a meritorious undertaking.

Thanks to the care and vigilance of the Chief Magistrate, Mr LeGeyt, and of Captain Burrows, the Superintendent of Police, the utmost order and regularity prevailed. The Ladies and Gentlemen who attended at this interesting ceremony will long preserve pleasurable recollections of the opening of "Lady Jamsetjee's Causeway."—*Gentleman's Gazette, April* 10, 1845.

MAHIM CAUSEWAY.—A short account will be found above of the fete which took place yesterday evening at the opening of Mahim Causeway; and it may not be uninteresting to our Mofussil readers to be made acquainted with some of the particulars of the origin of the important work whose completion has just been celebrated. The little Island of Bombay, occupied by a population of above 360,000 souls, comprising in all an area of nineteen square miles, is separated from Salsette, which is interposed betwixt it and the main land, by a strait varying from a mile to four hundred yards in breadth. Till within these forty years this was traversable only by boats: the flats were at this time covered with mangrove jungle, and partially submerged every tide. The sickliness of the island was such as to have obtained for it the name of the "white man's grave." In 1805 the long and narrow causeway which connects together the islands of Bombay and Salsette towards the east was constructed under the Government of Mr. Jonathan Duncan; and this for the space of forty years supplied the only means of communication betwixt the two. One of the great leading lines of road lay nearly three miles to the westward of this—from Mahim, half a century since the chief town on the island—by Bandora, and thence through Salsette. Betwixt the two towns just named, the dangerous ferry bearing the name of the former, and now bridged across, intervened. The basin extending from Mahim to Sion Causeway requiring to be filled and emptied every tide, is nearly four square miles in area, and averages from three to twenty feet in depth. The supply of water required for this was admitted by a channel of no more than eight hundred feet in width, and the rush through the channel which consequently ensued at half tides was violent and dangerous for passengers. The outward rush during the rains was especially perilous—when the accumulated waters of the tide ponding back the floods from the others poured out to meet the S. W. Monsoon in its violence. The accidents arising from the swamping of boats were, as might, under these circumstances, have been expected, numerous, and often fatal to human life. The misery often experienced by families arriving at either side under night, especially during the rains, was inconceivable. The poor people had often to remain for hours drenched with rain before they could proceed on their journey. Many years ago a subscription was raised to bridge the ferry across; but a sufficient amount was never raised to admit of the undertaking being proceeded with. Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy came forward and offered a munificent sum—we forget the amount—on condition that Government would defray the rest; but this arrangement somehow or other for a time broke down. At length Lady Jamsetjee resolved that *coute qui coute* the work of benevolence should be accomplished. She offered a lakh, and afterwards contributed the balance—the Causeway cost a lakh and sixty-seven thousand rupees—£17,000: and this has been entirely contributed by a single family! The work was designed by Captain Cruickshank of the Engineers, and commenced in the end of 1843, and occupied in all twenty months in construction. It consists of a huge mound of loose stones above 2000 feet, or considerably upwards of half a mile, in length. It varies from two to twenty-four feet in height from the roadway to the bottom, and reaches the height of five feet above high water. It is thirty-two feet feet across the top, and from forty to seventy at bottom—varying with the depth. The carriage way is twenty feet broad, with a footpath four and a half feet on each side. The parapet walls are three feet high; on the sea side two feet thick, and on the land side eighteen inches. For about two-thirds of the line across the channel it varies from ten to eighteen feet in depth: the remaining third is filled up with hard trap rock to nearly high-water mark. By a bold

stroke of engineering, the main channel has been entirely built across with a solid mound of stone, so as to prevent either ingress or egress to the waters beyond a certain depth. On the rocky portion a bridge of one hundred and fifty-eight feet in length, consisting of four elliptical arches, of thirty feet span each, is set down. Through this the surface water is compelled to find its way, and it rushes through accordingly at the rate of six or seven miles an hour: the noise of the current is heard at full a mile off. The reader will, from what has been above stated, understand the grounds on which the conclusion has been arrived at, that the channel on both sides of the solid embankment will in a few years be entirely sanded or silted up—the water-course opposite to, and corresponding in size with, the bridge, alone remaining open. This, Government ought to bestow on the Jamsetjee family: it has been brought by the heads of the house into existence, and a few years hence might be found a gift not unworthy acceptance—a memorial of the personal advantage to be derived from a family act of munificence bestowed on the public. It is now nearly two years and a half since the Governor, Sir George Arthur, in bestowing on the Parsee Knight a Medal presented him by Her Majesty, enumerated donations made by him for the public advantage to the amount of £90,000. His hand has since this continued open as before; and his bequests must by this time amount to £120,000 at least! This verily is princely, in the strictest sense of the term.—*Bombay Times, April 9, 1845.*

Simultaneously with this another magnificent work of public utility was in progress under the auspices and at the expence of Sir JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY—the Poona water-works. The City of Poona, the capital of this portion of the Maharatta dominions, is about ninety miles from Bombay—on the table-land of the Deccan, about eighteen hundred feet above the level of the sea. The amount of rain which falls here annually is little more than one-third of that met in with at the sea-shore,—about one-tenth of what descends on the mountain range which intervenes: at Bombay the average is eighty inches, on the Ghauts about two hundred and fifty, and at Poona twenty five. The river Moola passes close by one side of the city, and is joined a little way down by the Moola Moota; two streams of considerable magnitude, which, rising in the ghauts eighty miles from the Malabar Coast, flow continuously till they join the Bheema, and after a journey of above twelve hundred miles, discharge their waters into the Bay of Bengal. The comparatively elevated level of the greater part of the city above the banks of the river makes its wells of little service, and the people are chiefly supplied by tanks, conduits, and stone pipes, constructed by the munificence of the princes and chiefs, and men of wealth, under the Mahratta Empire. The British Government is too much occupied with war—its treasury too severely taxed to meet its military—to have any leisure or money to bestow on works of public utility. Sir JAMSETJEE in 1842 resolved to relieve of the community of Poona from the scarcity of—in the East—the most precious of all commodities, from which they had hitherto suffered. The lesser of the two streams for some way is polluted by the vicinuage of the town: when joined by the larger, its impurities are so diluted as to be comparatively inoffensive. It was determined to throw a huge stone wear or dam across the nearest point of the river, from which water could be conveniently withdrawn and forced by machinery upwards to the point of supply. The Moola and Moota Moola taking their rise amongst the hills, where in the course of three months no less than from two hundred and forty to three hundred inches of rain fall, and flowing afterwards through an almost perfectly level plain, occupy, during the seven months of uninterrupted drought which follow the rains, a mere fraction of their channel, presenting on many occasions the appearance of long pools or reaches of still water, connected with each other by a rivulet, rather than of a river. In June and July, after a heavy fall, they will sometimes rise as much as from fifteen to twenty feet in perpendicular height in twenty-four hours time. The difficulties in erecting a wall eighteen feet high across this, and of such strength as to resist the flood, may from these circumstances be imagined. Plans having been sent from home, drawn up apparently by those who had not sufficiently appreciated the obstacles to be contended with, with certain modifications were adopted at Bombay,—though the engineers on the spot at once pronounced them insufficient. The first band was completed in 1845, but cholera had broke out in the neighbourhood, and but a few people could be got to work, so that the work was nearly a month later of being finished than was expected: the river came down a fortnight sooner than was looked for, the very day the work was completed, and before the mortar had hardened sufficiently to stand

the shock,—and the whole gave way. It was a second time rebuilt, and again burst through in 1847; and it is now once more being reconstructed—it is to be hoped with better assurance of success.

The structure is 850 feet in length, such being here the breadth of the river: it was originally intended to be a simple wall of cut stone, eighteen feet in height at the deepest part of the stream, eight feet broad at the base, and three at the top. This being found insufficient, a long slope of rubble work, extending 200 feet down, and as much up, the river, was added, and this again having given ways a buttress, about half the size of the original wall, was resorted to: like the rest, it proved a failure.

The water ponded back by the wall passes by large tunnels from a stone tower, fitted up with a tank and sluices in the centre of the river, into a series of filters to free it from the impurities with which it abounds. The tunnels are four feet in height by three and ahalf in breadth. The filters and reservoirs are by the side of the river: they are cut three feet into the solid rock—their walls are thirty-five feet in height, the river very often rising from ten to twenty feet above the summit of the wall across. They are 100 feet in length by fifty in breadth: they are connected with each other by 10 inch cast-iron pipes. The reservoir at Poonah where the water is discharged is nearly two miles (9000 feet) from the water works, and it is 112 feet in elevation above them. The water is projected through a cast-iron pipe six inches in diameter, by a series of pumps worked by horses or oxen, and which throw 3400 gallons of water per hour, the pumps being five and a half inches in diameter, moving at the rate of fifteen strokes a minute, with a sixteen inch stroke. This is received into a reservoir partly built above the level of the ground, sixty feet by twenty-six in area, and eight feet in depth: from this it is distributed by iron pipes to the other tanks, fountains, and cisterns, where it si required. On this magnificent enterprise Sir JAMSETJEE has up to the present time expended upwards of £18,000, or Rs. 1,80,000.

It is scarcely a compliment to the engineering of the present day that dams of equal difficulty should have been thrown across the river every now and then by native workmen under Mahratta rule, without a single instance of failure; whereas a plan designed in England, approved of by the highest engineering authorities in Bombay, and entrusted to the hands of some of the best men of the service, should have so repeatedly given away.

To be hospitable to strangers, liberal to the poor, and kind and attentive to the sick and suffering, are deemed amongst the most meritorious of good works amongst orientals; and in no way can these be better displayed than in digging wells, or providing water in a thirsty land, or constructing places of reception, or caravanserais on the highway for those who otherwise must trust to accident for shelter, or go without it altogether. How the first of these duties has been discharged, has been seen: some illustrations of the views taken by Sir JAMSETJEE of the sacredness of the second will presently appear. From Bombay to the mainland, as has already been stated, the distance is twenty miles: from this again to the Mahratta Capital is seventy: nearly half way between the two, the road springs up at once to an elevation of 1,700 feet above the level of the plains below. The climate changes at once:—two hours' walk takes the traveller from the unniformly damp warm atmosphere of the Concan to the violent heats of the Deccan at one season, and the deluge-like rains, and fine cool breezes of the Ghauts, at another. Khandalla, where the plunge begins, is the great resting-place for travellers, whether on their inland or coastward journey. The place forms a favourite resort for the wealthy from Bombay, as securing the greatest possible changes of climate with the least amount of trouble under the circumstances. Here Sir JAMSETJEE had witnessed from the windows of his own splendid mansion the sufferings and privations the unprotected wayfarer had to endure; and speedily at his bidding arose an ample Dhurrumsalla, fit for the accommodation of

500 persons at once, open to all who required a place of temporary shelter and repose, without distinction of race, caste, or occupation. The cost of the structure amounted to £2000.

The amount of pauper and of fluctuating population at Bombay is proverbially greater in proportion to its size than in any town in India. Bombay forms the great entrepôt betwixt Hindoostan, Scinde, Arabia, and Africa; and is almost continually deluged with the sick, poverty-stricken, and destitute. A philanthropic association, called the District Benevolent Society, had done all they could to bring relief to this description of wretchedness, and though their means fell far below the calls made upon them, much in the way of alleviating misery was effected by them. Sir JAMSETJEE had often contributed munificently to their means, and at last resolved on the building of a dhurrumsalla or hostelry on the largest scale, for the reception of indigent strangers. A large suit of buildings, capable of affording comfortable accommodation for 300 persons, well aired, and supplied with water and every other requisite, was accordingly constructed. The original cost of this was £8,500, or Rs. 85 000, while a further sum of £5000 was sunk for its endowment and maintenance. Lady JAMSETJEE at the present time we believe purposes bestowing on it a further sum of £2000—the grand total bestowed on this single charity amounting to no less than £15,500, or Rs. 1,55 000. The following notice of the opening of the *Dhurrumsalla* is from the *Telegraph and Courier* of the 12th May, 1847:—

OPENING OF THE DHURRUMSALLA AT THE BELLASIS ROAD.

Yesterday afternoon, a very numerous assemblage met at the Dhurrumsalla, lately erected by that worthy and benevolent Parsee Knight Sir JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY, in the Bellasis Road.

The Hon'ble the Governor, with his Staff, arrived at half-past four precisely; the Commander-in-Chief, and his Staff followed shortly afterwards. The Governor's band was in attendance. Amongst those present, we observed Sir Erskine Perry, Brigadier Douglas, Colonels Moore and Jervis, Hon'ble Mr Reid, Captain Sir R. Oliver, and Captains Lyon and Jenkins; Messrs R Bell, Blane, Pringle, Maier, Spens, Young, Erskine, Spencer, Baumbach, Archdeacon Jeffreys, Cundy (Revd.), Cormack, Cowie, Crawford, Harlow, Dickinson, Le-Messurier, McCulloch; Nesbitt, Fraser, Clarkson, Allen, (Revds.); Lumsden, Hogg, Methven; Drs. Giraud, Morehead, Boyd, &c. &c. Amongst the native gentlemen present were Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy's Sons, Jejeebhoy Dadabhoy and his sons Merwanjee, Bomanjee, and Byramjee; Dadabhoy and Muncherjee Pestonjee, C. D. Pestonjee, Manockjee Nusserwanjee Petty, Rustomjee Nowrojee, Mahomed Ally Rogay, Framjee Cowasjee, Carsetjee Cowasjee, Manockjee Limjee, Mahomed Ibrahim Muckba, Juggonath Sunke sett, Ardaseer Hormusjee, Nanabhoy Framjee, Curseljee Ardaseer, Framjee Nusserwanjee, Curseljee Furdoonjee, Viccajee Merjee, Esquires, &c. &c. &c.

The Governor and the Commander-in-Chief accompanied the munificent founder of the new building through its various rooms, and they expressed themselves highly delighted with the admirable accommodation provided for about 300 poor. We must not forget to mention the Lazar,—an apartment especially set apart for lepers, which is kept quite distinct from the rest of the building. All present seemed to reciprocate the pleasure expressed by the Governor and his party. We expected to have been able, from the speeches of the founder and the Governor, to have been enabled to supply some interesting particulars of the origin and objects of the Institution, but in this we were disappointed, no speeches having been made. We may state, however, that the cost of the building was Rs. 75,000, and that Sir JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY has besides endowed it with Rs. 50,000, and has called upon the Government to take charge of the building, and in consideration of the above endowment (Rs 50, 00) which was paid into the General Treasury, to increase their monthly contributions to the Society from Rs 300 to 600, the additional Rs. 300 per month being given as the contribution of Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy.

This endowment is altogether exclusive of the further sum of Rs. 20,000 (or £2000) above all alluded to as an endowment proposed to be given by Lady Jamsetjee.

The company, which numbered at least 300, having been round, were regaled with refreshments, and separated shortly afterwards, highly pleased with what they had witnessed.

And this brings us to the JAMSETJEE benefactions for the year 1848, to which this somewhat lengthened introduction has been prefaced.

Besides the sums here enumerated, we find the following are a few odds and ends that may be thrown in by way of make-weight, without any historical or statistical notice:—

To the Elphinstone Professorship &c.,	.....	.....	.....Rs. 11,500
" Byculla Schools.....	.....	.....	..... " 1,000

To the Free School at Calcutta.	Rs.	2,000	
„ District Benevolent Society, at sundry times	„	5,000	
„ Scotch and Irish Relief Fund.	„	10, 00	
„ Naval Schools at Devonport.	„	1,000	
„ Schools of Industry &c,	„	1000	—— 31,500
Proposed establishment of a Fund in memory of the late Motichund Amichund, for the relief of poor Hindoos in Guzerat	Rs.		25,000
Repairing the Tank at Baudora.	„		6,500
Cost of a Bridge at Carla Parla in Salsette	„		4,000
Proposed payment of half the cost of a new road at Baudora, about	„		3,000
The Parsee Benevolent Institution, for the education and maintenance of the children of poor Parsees	„		4,40,000
A large Tank, now being constructed near the Jamsetjee Hospital, will cost about	„		18,000
A Dhurrumsallah now being built at Nowsary, will cost about	„		20,000
Release given by J. J. to His Highness the Guicowar, for a body tax levied by him on Parsees, at Nowsary	„		17,000
Relief afforded to a distressed friend and his family consisting of a monthly money allowance for several years past; a house which they occupy rent free, and donations to some of the female members of the family on the occasions of their marriages.			1,00,000
Total	Rs.		6,67,000

The reader will find that the sums here enumerated amount amongst them to very close on two hundred thousand pounds sterling; we believe that if we set down fifty thousand more for private and promiscuous charities we shall be very considerably within the mark; so that, as stated at the beginning, the total gifts of this princely merchant have within these twenty-six years amounted to more than a quarter of a million sterling.

When we read of the endowment of Colleges, Churches, Monasteries, or Hospitals, made in past times in Christian Europe by the princes, or merchants, or clergy, of the day, who believed that in this way they were purchasing a place in Paradise; or of the Kings or Chiefs of Asia erecting Temples, Mausoleums, Serais, Tanks, or Canals; we shall find in general that the wealth thus disposed of was as irregularly acquired as it was lavishly bestowed,—that it was but seldom that any tangible or definite object of philanthropy was prescribed or forwarded,—and that the money was not parted with till late in life, or until he to whom it had belonged could no longer make use of it.

History contains no example of a merchant yet in the enjoyment of a green old age, still deeply engaged in business,—who has neither heritage nor legacy left him, and whose fortune has arisen from the earnings of his own enduring enterprise and ability, with all his faculties in the most perfect integrity, and with a numerous, flourishing, and affectionate family around him, conferring sums so enormous as those enumerated for purposes of philanthropy. When Her Majesty was pleased to confer the honour of Knighthood on the most distinguished of her oriental subjects, there were not awanting critics willing to carpat the anomaly of a mark of distinction, originally meant for Christian Warriors, being conferred on an unchristian merchant. It was forgotten that in this sense Knighthood altogether was a relict of barbarism; and that the Queen had no other honour to bestow Rome could boast its civic crown for those who had saved the life of a citizen—Christendom reserves its honours for those who destroy life, and has made no provision to reward those by whom thousands have been saved.

No one is more keenly alive to the honours her Majesty can bestow than her Eastern subjects, or more anxious to merit or deserve marks of consideration; and the designation of Justice of the Peace is still regarded as a badge of distinction of which any one may be proud. But if it be foolish to bestow honours with a lavishness and inconsideration which strips them of half, or nearly all, their value, it is no less so to confer them with so niggard and so partial a hand that nothing but an amount of social merit which not one man in a century can aspire to, should

only secure to the Oriental a mark of distinction any General who had been present at a successful action might receive; any traveller might look for who had traversed a new or untrodden country, or any country magistrate command who had carried an address to the foot of the throne, or chanced to preside over a municipality on which the light of the sovereign's countenance had happened during his magisterial incumbency to fall. Prudence and discretion can never be carried to excess; but parsimony as well as prodigality in such matters may go much too far.

The cold exclusiveness with which the most distinguished of the children of our Eastern Empire are viewed is anything but creditable to the generosity of England: the Royal Society refused to listen to one of the most eminent of its office-bearers when he entreated that the honour of a Fellowship should be conferred on the Rajah of Travancore, one of the most liberal and enlightened of the promoters of science who ever sat on an Asiatic throne; and future generations will wonder at the stinted measures of royal bounty now adverted to when they see the princely monuments of his philanthropy and munificence which Sir JAMSETJEE has transmitted to posterity; and find that all the Sovereign thought fit to bestow on him was a petty title, which perished with him.

The greatest blunderer in the art of war who ever in India endangered an army or sunk a country in debt, receives a pension for himself and his family, and a Peerage to descend to his family as long as a masculine *Gough* remains to remind the world of Ramnuggur and Chillianwalla: the most munificent Oriental who ever opened his purse for the public good is recompensed for the bounty of a quarter of a million by Knighthood and a Medal?

The policy which dictates this is neither wise nor generous: goodness may be its own reward, but it is as highly impolitic in the State to withhold its honours to goodness, as to confer them where there is none.

MORTALITY IN THE BOMBAY ARMY.

SUBJOINED is a Table of very great interest, of the amount of Casualties, and nature of the Diseases causing death, in the Bombay Army, for the last eight years. The difference of salubrity in different districts, as well as in different years, is remarkable. The deaths, which during the past eight years have averaged close on six per cent throughout the presidency, amounted in 1848, the healthiest year by much within the term under review, to little more than two and a half per cent., while in 1842 it was close on nine, and in 1844 exceeded seven and a quarter. Again, taking difference of space instead of time, we find the same surprising diversities. At Kirkee, which seems the most healthy station in the presidency, the mortality has been under three per cent; while at Deesa, Belgaum, and Poona, it has been under three and three quarters. The recent salubrity of Scinde has made up for its former unhealthiness, and though on the eight years it gives us the very high average of twelve per cent, it falls short of the presidency, where it is close on twelve and a half. In Scinde, during the years 1844, 1845, and 1846, the mortality was no less than eighteen, nineteen, and sixteen, per cent —in 1847 it sunk at once to 1·94, and in 1848 is no more than 2·54. On an examination of the returns for Bombay, we find a per centage of nineteen for the year 1842, when malignant fever got amongst the European troops, and H. M. 17th suffered so fearfully. The following year H. M. 86th and 28th suffered from cholera, and the mortality is eighteen per cent:—we forget what special sickness prevailed in 1844, but the mortality for this year continues as high as fifteen. The two past years seem everywhere to have been distinguished for their salubrity, and our averages sunk accordingly to six and a half and five and a half per cent. The lowest average we find anywhere is that of Mhow for 1844, where we have only 1·06 per cent of mortality: next to this is Kirkee for 1843 and 1847, where we have 1·62 and 1·26 respectively. During 1847 and 1848 Belgaum goes down to 1·47 and 1·36, and Ahmednuggur to 1·59 and 1·80, respectively. To make the table complete, nearly all we want is a set of copious annotations in reference to the

state of the climate for the various years here examined, and of the particular circumstances in the management or the accommodation of the troops, which seem to bear on their health and longevity. Under the first head we want to know the pressure, the heat, the fall of rain, and the humidity of the atmosphere, and all the class of facts the Geographical Society is labouring to expiscate. Our researches on these subjects for the present or rather for the past, may not be very fruitful or productive, though not, we feel assured, likely to prove barren,—the very difficulty of getting what is wanted, will indicate to us the means of for the future making sure that all that is desired shall be provided. There is both the will and the way—all that is needed is to shew how they may be turned to advantage. The other matter might even for the past now be cleared up, and were the attention of the officers at the various localities enumerated in the returns to be collected on the subject, they might be able to say what was the effect, say at Poona, of the system introduced by Sir T. WILLSHIRE, of making European soldiers take air and exercise, instead of confining them day by day to their barracks ; what the consequence of gardens at Ahmednuggur, Kurrachee, and Belgaum ; of soldiers' libraries or reading-rooms, where these had been brought into existence ; of the use of malt liquor in place of ardent spirits, or the substitution for either of these of beverages which cheer but do not inebriate. Enquiries such as these meet the desires of the most rigid utilitarian : they not only give us facts for reflection, theory, or speculation, which may or may not be of benefit,—they provide for us the foundations on which a sound sanitary system for our troops might be based, affording facts and principles which might at once be reduced to practice. We feel grateful for what we have got, and shall feel still more so should any such additions as we have described be found procurable.

RETURN shewing the number admitted into Hospital, Diseases, and Deaths, among all the European Troops serving under the Bombay Presidency, from the Year 1841 *to* 1848 *inclusive.*

Stations.	Diseases.	Years. 1841.	1842.	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.	Total.
Bombay.	Cholera (Bilious, and Spasmodic)..	1	65	13	27	16	7	3	..	132
	Diarrhœa and Dysentery.... ..	50	30	51	41	55	20	24	13	287
	Delirium Tremens..	6	14	1	6	1	2	1	1	32
	Fevers..	48	22	37	9	42	15	7	9	191
	Hepatic Diseases.. ..	16	3	11	5	3	5	10	2	55
	Inflammations..	4	4	3	..	6	..	..	1	18
	Wounds....	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	2
	Other Diseases..	13	19	12	6	11	3	7	6	77
	Total..	138	157	131	97	134	53	52	32	794
Poona.	Cholera (Bilious and Spasmodic)..	2	74	..	6	32	11	..	..	125
	Diarrhœa and Dysentery.... ..	47	27	30	24	59	31	28	15	261
	Delirium Tremens..	1	1	..	...	1	1	..	..	4
	Fevers..	9	14	25	9	22	14	12	11	116
	Hepatic Diseases.. ..	15	8	8	8	8	5	6	4	62
	Inflammations..	5	3	.	2	1	2	..	..	13
	Wounds..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	2
	Other Diseases..	10	9	9	11	5	8	14	16	82
	Total..	90	136	72	60	128	73	60	46	665

Stations.	Diseases.	Years 1841.	1842.	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.	Total.
Kirkee.	Cholera (Bilious and Spasmodic)..	1	22	..	1	14	3	..	..	41
	Diarrhœa and Dysentery. ..	8	6	3	1	10	..	4	3	35
	Delirium Tremens..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	2
	Fevers..	4	5	3	3	..	1	4	2	22
	Hepatic diseases.	..	4	1	1	1	...	5	3	15
	Inflammations..	1	2	1	4	1	..	..	..	9
	Wounds..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
	Other Diseases..	2	..	2	3	3	2	5	1	18
	Total..	16	40	11	13	30	6	18	9	143
Ahmednuggur.	Cholera (Bilious and Spasmodic)..	1	11	2	37	1	..	...	..	52
	Diarrhœa and Dysentery.	7	2	6	6	5	..	1	1	28
	Delirium Tremens..	1	1	2	1	2	1	...	..	8
	Fevers..	8	2	4	7	3	1	..	2	27
	Hepatic Diseases.	4	1	2	1	..	2	2	1	13
	Inflammations..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	2
	Wounds..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
	Other Diseases.	1	2	5	6	..	1	4	2	21
	Total..	23	19	21	59	11	5	7	7	152
Belgaum.	Cholera (Bilious and Spasmodic)..	6	1	28	9	..	2	..	..	46
	Diarrhœa and Dysentery	9	17	..	6	12	11	8	10	73
	Delirium Tremens..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	...	1
	Fevers..	2	7	3	2	2	6	2	..	24
	Hepatic Diseases.	3	3	2	2	12	10	3	1	36
	Inflammations..	..	..	1	...	2	1	..	..	4
	Wounds....	..	..	..	3	3	..	..	..	6
	Other Diseases.	10	6	4	5	7	7	3	4	46
	Total..	30	34	38	28	38	37	16	15	236
Deesa.	Cholera (Bilious, and Spasmodic)..	..	10	3	..	..	..	20	1	34
	Diarrhœa and Dysentery	5	3	6	8	11	10	2	12	57
	Delirium Tremens	...	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	4
	Fevers..	8	5	12	3	1	14	6	5	54
	Hepatic Diseases	3	5	1	5	7	5	7	8	41
	Inflammations..	3	3	2	..	1	1	...	..	10
	Wounds..	..	...	..	1	..	1	.	..	2
	Other Diseases..	1	..	6	11	7	13	8	16	62
	Total..	20	29	31	28	27	44	43	42	264
Scinde.	Cholera (Bilious, and Spasmodic)..	2	269	7	1	1	444	..	..	724
	Diarrhœa and Dysentery	79	82	53	130	248	53	15	25	705
	Delirium Tremens..	5	4	1	3	1	2	1	..	17
	Fevers..	77	53	127	179	13	51	3	8	511
	Hepatic Diseases	20	17	8	12	5	8	9	10	89
	Inflammations..	..	..	..	5	3	5	..	..	13
	Wounds..	..	7	55	..	1	..	1	1	65
	Other Diseases..	44	60	30	30	15	47	7	8	261
	Total..	*227	*492	†281	400	287	610	36	52	2385
Aden.	Cholera (Bilious and Spasmodic)..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
	Diarrhœa and Dysentery.. ..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
	Delirium Tremens..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
	Fevers..	..	3	2	...	1	.	..	..	6
	Hepatic Diseases..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
	Inflammations..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	2
	Wounds..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Other diseases..	..	..	3	1	2	..	..	..	6
	Total..	...	11	6	1	5	..	..	..	23
	Cholera (Bilious and Spasmodic)..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	4
	Diarrhœa and Dysentery	..	..	..	..	..	2	10	1	13
	Delirium Tremens..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Fevers..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	5	9
	Hepatic Diseases..	..	..	..	..	..	4	10	..	14
	Inflammations..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Wounds..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Other Diseases..	..	..	..	..	..	3	14	7	24
	Total.	..	..	..	..	..	15	36	13	64

* Includes Her Majesty's Troops only. Grand Total 4726

† Ditto Ditto and for broken period, about eight Months.

Stations.	Years.	Average Strength per Month.	Admissions per year.	Deaths per Year.	Annual ratio of admissions to strength per cent.	Annual ratio of deaths to strength per cent.
Poonah..	1841.	2025	6038	90	298·17	4 44
Kirkee..		701	1367	16	195·09	2 28
Deesa..		895	1797	20	200·78	2 23
Belgaum..		560	1457	30	260·17	5 35
Ahmednuggur..		529	1632	23	308 50	4·34
Bombay..		996	3517	138	357·12	13·85
Scinde..		*1737	7059	227	440 81	13·05
Total..		.....	....	544	.....	....
Poona...	1842.	2127	6295	136	295·95	6·39
Kirkee...		635	1010	40	159·05	6·29
Deesa...		1067	2370	29	222·11	2·71
Belgaum..		643	1234	34	191 91	5 28
Mhow..		† 107	349	13	326·16	12·14
Ahmednuggur		403	1039	19	257·81	4·71
Bombay..		826	2826	157	342·13	19·00
Scinde..		*3340	7832	492	234·49	14·73
Total..		.....	.....	920	....	...
Poonah...	1843.	2023	5659	72	279·73	3·55
Kirkee...		678	874	11	128·90	1·62
Deesa...		1091	1764	31	161·68	2·84
Belgaum...		1023	1822	38	178·10	3 71
Mhow..		103	236	6	229·12	5·82
Ahmednuggur...		640	1438	21	224·68	3·28
Bombay...		721	2753	131	381 83	18·16
Scinde...		*2666	3556	281	136·45	10·78
Total...		....	....	591	....	.....
Poona...	1844.	2026	5547	60	273·79	2·96
Kirkee...		735	1151	13	181·25	2·04
Deesa...		941	1818	28	193·19	2 97
Belgaum...		758	2642	28	348·54	3 69
Mhow...		94	208	1	221·27	1 06
Ahmednuggur...		626	1811	59	289·77	9·42
Bombay...		575	2286	97	397·56	16·86
Scinde...		2128	7100	400	332·08	18·70
Total...		....	....	686	....	....
Poona...	1845.	2252	5635	128	250 22	5·68
Kirkee...		631	1047	30	165·92	4·75
Deesa...		941	1751	27	186 07	2 86
Belgaum...		870	2138	38	245.74	4 36
Mhow...		97	165	5	170.10	5·15
Ahmednuggur...		521	1097	11	208·63	2·11
Bombay...		1116	4361	134	390·77	12·00
Scinde...		1494	3011	287	201·53	19·21
Total..		...	....	660	....	....
Poona...	1846.	1935	5202	73	268 83	3 77
Kirkee...		† 639	2274	18	355 86	2·81
Deesa..		1233	1930	44	156·52	3 56
Belgaum...		825	1722	37	208·72	4·48
Ahmednuggur...		224	540	5	241 07	2·23
Aden...		236	425	15	180·08	6.35
Bombay...		657	2198	53	334·55	8 06
Scinde..		3703	8680	610	234·40	16·47
Total..		....	....	855	....	.....

* Includes Her Majesty's Troops only.

† Average for Twelve months.

Stations.	Years.	Average Strength per Month.	Admissions per year.	Deaths per year.	Annual ratio of admissions to strength per cent.	Annual ratio of deaths to strength per cent.
Poona..	1847.	2368	5528	60	233·44	25·3
Kirkee..		633	1882	18	249·02	28·4
Deesa..		1149	1718	43	149·65	37·4
Belgaum..		1085	2113	16	194·74	14·7
Ahmednuggur..		439	996	7	226·87	15·9
Aden..		852	1419	36	166·54	42·2
Bombay..		807	1740	52	215·61	64·4
Scinde (Kurrachee)..		1875	2786	36	148·58	19·4
Total..		....	....	268	....	....
Poonah..	1848.	2257	4969	46	220·60	2·05
Kirkee..		704	1516	9	215·34	1·26
Deesa..		1242	2021	42	162·72	3·46
Belgaum..		1095	1727	15	157·71	1·36
Ahmednuggur..		388	946	7	243·80	1·80
Aden..		582	1037	13	176·46	2·23
Bombay..		575	1200	32	208·69	5·56
Scinde..		2044	3051	52	149·26	2·54
Total..		....	....	216	....	....
Grand Total..		....	....	4740	....	....

Years.....	1841.	1842.	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.	Average of eight Years.
Annual average of deaths per cent throughout the Presidency... ...	6·43	8·9	6 22	7·26	7·01	5·95	3·09	2·53	5·92

	Bombay.	Scinde.	Poonah.	Kirkee.	Ahmednuggur.	Deesa.	Belgaum.	Mhow	Aden.
Average of Deaths per cent at each station for the last eight years....	12·49	12·18	3·39	2·98	3·68	3·04	3·61	* 6·18	† 4·26

Total Deaths in Eight years.

Cholera..	1163
Diarrhœa and Dysentery..	1461
Delirium Tremens..	69
Fevers...	960
Hepatic Diseases...	326
Inflammations...	71
Wounds...	79
Other Diseases...	597
Total.....	4,726
Total Strength of Troops for Eight Years...	68,737

* For Four years only.

† Ditto three ditto.

DEWAN MOOLRAJ.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE FRIEND OF INDIA

SIR,—In several recent numbers of your paper, you have held up Dewan MOOLRAJ to the world as an object of compassion; as no murderer, and merely a rebel by accident; as an unfortunate man in short who never meditated any evil, but whose unhappy destiny, or, as they say in England, "circumstances over which he had no control," have forced into a war of self defence, which he has conducted with so much gallantry as, in every generous mind, throws a veil over his errors, and entitles him to be treated by his conquerors, "*not only with consideration, but distinction.*" (*Friend of India*, Feb 8th.) That you believe this yourself, I feel convinced, or you would not have propagated it. It is a matter of some importance, therefore, that you should be accurately informed on the subject, and thus have an opportunity of communicating the truth to the public. In the present instance of MOOLRAJ, the *premises* on which your whole defence of him is founded are false; and, consequently, the *conclusion* to which they have led you, and to which you have led the public, is a wrong one.

You say you *assumed* "that we had to deal with a Rebel, and not with an Assassin"; "that the murder of our public officers would probably be found not to have arisen from his instigation;" and that "in this opinion you have the support of the great majority of the public officers in the Punjab."

Now, I am not in a position to say what the majority of the public officers in the Punjab think of MOOLRAJ's crimes, but I should say that only two of them can have had any opportunity of arriving at a complete knowledge of the facts; Sir FRED. CURRIE, the late Resident, and Major EDWARDES, his Assistant at Mooltan. The former is by this time nearer to you than me, and you may perhaps have an opportunity of shortly ascertaining his opinion; but I assure you, that here it is very generally known that the results of Major EDWARDES' enquiries are totally at variance with your conclusions. Fortunately, however, we are not left to the mercy of any officer's opinions in this matter. The murderer of Mr VANS AGNEW has been detected among the Mooltan prisoners of war; and by the express order of the Governor-General, he has been tried by a special Military Commission. This Commission consisted of four British Commissioned Officers, two native do., and one Colonel of the Sikh service; *and the court was open.* The investigation was intensely interesting, and in the course of the proceedings, the whole story of the murder of our two lamented countrymen, and MOOLRAJ's rebellion, was unfolded, and set before the public as vividly as if the past had been reflected in a mirror.

On this trial the following facts were established, and made public:—that on the 18th of April, Mr AGNEW and Lieutenant ANDERSON reached Mooltan, encamped at the Cantonment called the Eedgah, under the north face of the fort, and had an interview the same evening with Dewan MOOLRAJ in the tent of Sirdar KHAN SINGH Man, the New Governor, when it was arranged that the Dewan should make over the Fort next day; for which purpose the two British Officers on the morning of the 19th accompanied Sirdar KHAN SINGH to the fort to install two companies of the Goorkha Regiment, which had come from Lahore. The officers were shewn all over the fort, the keys of which were handed over to the Colonel of the Goorkha Regiment; the new sentries were posted, and the officers with the new Governor prepared to return to the Eedgah. Lieutenant ANDERSON passed out first, followed by Mr AGNEW and KHAN SINGH the rear being brought up by Dewan MOOLRAJ and his brother-in-law, RUNG RAM. The cavalcade issued at the Seikhee gate of the fort, from which a narrow bridge leads over the deep ditch of the glacis. On this spot was made the first assault. A solitary soldier of MOOLRAJ, named AMEER CHUND, here struck Mr. AGNEW with a spear under the right armpit; (a fatal blow, of which MOOLRAJ is said to have afterwards remarked, that it had brought down the very heavens upon his head.) Mr. AGNEW was unarmed;

but he immediately returned the blow with a riding stick he had in his hand, and dismounted from his horse to close with his cowardly assailant. AMEER CHUND took the opportunity to draw his sword and inflict two severe wounds on Mr. AGNEW's left arm and shoulder. How did MOOLRAJ act at this moment? Did he call to his guards to seize this single "*unauthorised*" assassin? No, he slipped away and galloped off to his garden house, the Am Khas without the fort; and, mark this, that as he went, *his own personal sowars broke off, turned back, and pursued Lieutenant Anderson*, who had as yet escaped. They attacked *him*, and cut him down with swords; so that he fell from his horse to the ground, where they left him, and he lay till found by some of his own Goorkha soldiers, who put him on a charpoy and bore him to the Eedgah. Meanwhile, Sirdar KHAN SINGH had rudely bound up Mr AGNEW's wounds with strips torn from his own cloak, after which the Sirdar lifted him on to an elephant, mounted by his side, and carried him home to the Eedgah. A sad meeting for the two British Officers who had that morning gone forth together full of life, and health, and zeal to do their duty! The native doctor of the Goorkha Regt. then dressed their wounds. This done, Mr AGNEW proceeded to address a letter to the Dewan MOOLRAJ, expressing a generous disbelief in the Dewan's participation; but calling on him to clear himself beyond a doubt by seizing the assailants, and also to come himself to see him (Mr AGNEW) at the Eedgah. After considerable delay, MOOLRAJ sent an answer to this letter by the hand of one of his chief men, RAEEZADEH TOOLSEE DOSS, to the effect that it was out of his power to give up the persons who had wounded the British Officers, and that he had been prevented by the soldiery from coming to see Mr AGNEW. The letter further stated that there was a great disturbance in the Fort, and that the Officers had better look to themselves, and take measures for their own safety. Mr AGNEW seems to have behaved with consummate calmness and heroism at this trying moment. He pointed out to TOOLSEE DOSS how grave a matter was in hand, and how absolutely indispensable it was for Dewan MOOLRAJ to call on him, if he wished to justify himself, and disavow the acts of the soldiers. TOOLSEE DOSS returned to his master, but MOOLRAJ never came. It was necessary to face the stern emergency, and prepare for open hostility on the morrow. That night, under Mr AGNEW's personal direction, the six guns which had come from Lahore were mounted on three batteries, and all the soldiers and camp followers of that luckless expedition called inside the walls of the Eedgah. Morning broke, and Mr AGNEW made one last effort to avert the coming tragedy. Having failed with MOOLRAJ, he now forwarded to MOOLRAJ's officers, and chiefs, the Purwannahs of the Maharajah to make over the fort to Sirdar KHAN SINGH, and obey all Mr AGNEW's orders. *The Chiefs and Officers replied that Moolraj was their master, and they would only obey him.* Then came the officers of the escort to Mr AGNEW, and informed him of the fact, that MOOLRAJ had *called a council of all his Officers, and bound them all by solemn oaths to stand by him and fight*; the Hindoos and Sikhs putting their seals to the said oath in a leaf of the Grunth, and the Mussulmans in a leaf of the Koran. Mr AGNEW then wrote off to PEER IBRAHIM KHAN, the British Native Agent at Bhawulpoor, to bring troops to his assistance, intending to hold his own until this reinforcement could arrive. All disguise was now thrown aside. The guns of the fort opened on the Eedgah; *as did also the orderly guns on duty at Moolraj's own house in the Am Khas.* Six rounds were fired in return from Mr AGNEW's batteries at the Eedgah, one of which disabled one of MOOLRAJ's guns, and another killed a man; but the gunners refused to go on. The six rounds, however, that they had fired with such effect had made MOOLRAJ doubtful of the issue, if the escort remained faithful, and determined him to practise that Eastern precept which bids commanders of armies "to point their swords with gold." He dispatched a trusty officer named HUR BUGHWAN to the Eedgah, on the infamous mission of seducing the escort of the British Officers. HUR BUGHWAN was armed with a written promise from MOOLRAJ, to increase the pay of every soldier who would come over. One GOOLAB SINGH, commandant of the Ghorchurrahs

with Mr AGNEW, led the way, and went over with HUR BUGHWAN to MOOLRAJ, who tricked the traitor out with gold necklaces and bracelets, and *sent him back*. It is almost needless to relate the issue. Sikh troops, with bracelets and necklaces on one side, and merely duty, loyalty, and honor, on the other. In vain Mr. AGNEW bestowed Rs 1000 upon the soldiers to encourage them to fight; to hold out, as he said, only for three days. It was honest money, and it was *not* bracelets and necklaces. By evening all had deserted except Sirdar KHAN SINGH, eight or ten of KURRUM ILAHEE'S horsemen, and the Moonshees and domestic servants of the British Officers. Beneath the lofty dome of that empty hall (so strong and formidable that a very few stout hearts could have defended it,) stood this miserable group around the beds of the two wounded Englishmen. All hope of resistance being at an end, Mr. AGNEW in the evening sent a Vakeel to Dewan MOOLRAJ, asking for peace, and carriage to enable him and Lieutenant ANDERSON to go. *Moolraj refused!* He was not yet satisfied. The sun went down, and twilight was closing in, when an indistinct and distant murmur arose as of a mass of men advancing. Louder and louder it grew, until it became a cry, —the cry of a multitude for blood. On they came, from the city and the fort; soldiers with their arms, buniyahs, coolies, artizans, young and old, with any weapon they could snatch. A company of MOOLRAJ'S Muzabees, or sweepers turned Sikhs, led on the frantic mob. It was an appalling sight, and Sirdar KHAN SINGH begged of Mr AGNEW to be allowed to wave a sheet and sue for mercy. Weak in body from loss of blood, AGNEW'S heart failed him not. He replied, "The time for mercy is gone—let none be asked for; they can kill us two if they like, but we are not the last of the English. Thousands of Englishmen will come down when we are gone, and annihilate MOOLRAJ and his soldiers and his fort." The crowd now rushed in with horrible shouts, made KHAN SINGH prisoner, and, pushing aside the servants with the butts of their muskets, surrounded the two wounded officers. Lieut. ANDERSON was too much wounded to move, and Mr AGNEW was sitting by his bedside holding his hand, and *talking in English*; doubtless they were bidding each other farewell for ever. 'Twas now that the prisoner tried before the Mooltan Court, GOOJUR SINGH, a Muzabee, deformed, and almost a cripple, an object disgusting to behold, and probably with refined barbarity selected for this reason to add a last indignity to the murder—stepped from the crowd with a drawn sword, and, after insulting Mr AGNEW for a few minutes with every abusive epithet which a foul language can supply to a foul tongue, struck him thrice upon the neck, and with a third blow cut off his head. Some other wretch discharged a musket into the lifeless body. Then ANDERSON was hacked to death with swords, and afterwards, the two bodies were dragged outside, and slashed and insulted by the crowd. And by whose orders were these unparalleled murders executed? Were they the spontaneous cruelties of a soldiery enraged at the transfer of the province, or of a frantic mob of Hindoo citizens for the first time threatened with Feringee rule? Or were they devised and commanded by MOOLRAJ, too late repenting of having resigned his high position at Mooltan? Let us follow the blood-stained crowd, and see. Where go they? To the *Am Khas*. There sits MOOLRAJ in his Durbar, already taunting Sirdar KHAN SINGH, late his rival, now his prisoner. Room for the monster GOOJUR SINGH—the murderer! He approaches; the crowd make way for him as for some good man; and he advances to MOOLRAJ with *Agnew's head in his hand*. "What reward can MOOLRAJ give for so noble and brave a deed? Will GOOJUR SINGH accept an elephant—a horse—a sword—a pistol—money? He has only to name his own reward." But "he wants nothing—he is content with having served MOOLRAJ!" At last this generous contention ends by AGNEW'S own horse and pistol, and a handful of rupees, being forced upon the murderer; and long afterwards poor AGNEW'S servants, peeping from their hiding places in the suburbs, could see their master's assassin capering through the streets on their master's well remembered horse. But what became of the head? For we must go through with it, and the readers of the *Friend of India*, and all those who compassionate MOOLRAJ, must go through with it. MOOLRAJ directed the head of

Mr AGNEW to be thrown into the lap of Sirdar KHAN SINGH. It *was* thrown; and the Sirdar was told to "*take the head of the youth he had brought down to govern at Mooltan*" The Sirdar, thinking over many kindnesses and benefits he had received at the hands of Mr AGNEW, burst into tears. The head was immediately taken from him. The nostrils and mouth were then filled with gunpowder; the moustachios, beard, and hair, wetted and plastered with the same; and then the whole set fire to. And MOOLRAJ was much amused; and the crowd delighted. Other and worse indignities followed, such as I will not repeat; but doubtless the officer who conducted the proceedings of the Court recorded them as they appeared, and were solemnly sworn to on the trial. At last MOOLRAJ was weary of insulting the murdered Englishmen. He ordered them to be buried; and they were laid in a hasty grave among some tufts of grass by the Eedgah where they were killed. But they could not be let alone even here. Twice they were torn up by the people of Mooltan, to rob them of the cloth that wrapped them. A third time they were buried, and a sentry placed over the spot, till they were forgotten.

Such, Sir, were the facts which the trial of GOOJUR SINGH elicited, and I have carefully limited my statement to them. GOOJUR SINGH has been sentenced to be hanged—and justly too. Hanging is rather too good for him. But after hearing the evidence, who sees in GOOJUR SINGH more than an instrument,—the hideous executioner of another's murderous designs,—the hired bravo of Dewan MOOLRAJ?

I call upon you to reconsider your own opinions by this fuller light, and tell the world when you have done so whether MOOLRAJ be an assassin or not; whether you did well to bid them pity and compassionate him, and treat him not only "with consideration but distinction."

The time was when I believed (and this belief will perhaps be found nearer that of "the great majority of the public officers in the Punjaub" than the one you have attributed to them) that MOOLRAJ was *innocent of the first assault* upon the British officers on the 19th April 1848, though guilty of all that followed; but the facts disclosed upon the trial of GOOJUR SINGH, as to the conduct of MOOLRAJ, and his own escort, when the assault took place, are so irreconcileable with good faith, and the supposition that the Dewan was not accessory to the attack, that I cannot any longer acquit him of hiring AMEER CHUND, as deliberately as he afterwards hired GOOJUR SINGH. This is a point, however, which must for ever remain shrouded in mystery, unless AMEER CHUND be discovered and apprehended. But it is worthy of remark that this ruffian was never punished by MOOLRAJ, nor ever even made a prisoner *on this charge*, though three months afterwards he was put in irons for *robbing a washerman* in the city of Mooltan! A few days before the storm of that city by the British troops he was released to take his share of duty in the defence: he passed unwounded through the dangers of the siege, and *was seen in the fort three days before it was surrendered*. The Dewan's overtures probably frightened him, and induced him to escape over the ramparts and fly, before the place fell into the hands of the British.

Summing up, therefore, this review of the evidence, I express my conviction that Dewan MOOLRAJ is *guilty of being an accessory, before the fact, to the cruel murder of Mr Vans Agnew, and Lieutenant Anderson*; as guilty as that bloody prince, who, *in spite of modern sophistry*, has been, and ever will be, handed down in healthy English history as the suborner of Sir JAMES TYRRELL, and the *real* murderer of EDWARD THE 5TH, and his brother the Duke of YORK.

The evidence I have recapitulated, and which, by the judicious course adopted by Government, in the trial of GOOJUR SINGH, is now for the first time laid before the public, is so full of interest, that I need scarcely apologize for the space I have occupied in proving MOOLRAJ the "*murderer*" you deemed him

not to be; but I must claim your indulgence when I add to the above a few remarks as to his deserts as "*a Rebel.*"

In exculpating MOOLRAJ'S rebellion in your paper of February 15th, you use these words:—

"Those who are thus opposed to our opinions seem to regard the Dewan as a public functionary who had first revolted against the legitimate government of his own country, and then assassinated its officers, and finally resisted the public authorities with a large military force. We considered him rather as a Feudatory Baron, who, in a very unsettled country, and under a new government, to which all his brother chieftains were adverse, had been driven into revolt by the current of circumstances, and it appeared to us to be unjust to judge of his conduct, and to shape our proceedings, by those rules which belong to a well established government, in which the peaceful and long continued acquiescence of all ranks had created its own prescriptive relations and rights."

Such doctrines from the "*Friend of India*" are startling indeed! If the administration of the Punjab by a Council of Sirdars, under the supervision of the British Resident at Lahore, was not to be recognised during DHULLEEP SINGH'S minority as "*the legitimate government*" of the country, then was the Treaty made between the British India and Lahore States, at the close of 1845, solemnly signed and sealed by the Governor-General of India on one side, and the Sikh Sirdars on the other—so much waste paper; and I am at a loss to imagine what form so binding, what authority sufficiently potent, what engagement so sacred, can in future be devised, as to secure the mutual faith of nations for more than an hour, and make laws such as a people cannot break without *illegality*.

I think it very probable that Sirdar CHUTTUR SINGH, when he first raised the standard of revolt, may have told the troops under his command in Huzara that they owed no allegiance to this new form of Government; and I can conceive a Sikh soldier so barbarous and ignorant as to believe him—so grown old in revolution as to hold that no Government was *legal* which he did not *like*. But *we* should at least know better. It does not become Englishmen to preach the doctrine that the treaties so inviolably held by *us* may be rent in pieces, and spit upon, by the Native Powers which made them; if not with impunity, at least without moral blame. If the doctrine you propound is the feeling of Society, treaties are mockeries, and should never again be made in India.

Again: you "considered MOOLRAJ as a Feudatory Baron." May I ask what you considered Mr. SMITH O'BRIEN or Mr. MEAGHER of the Sword? In many parts of Ireland these justly punished Rebels are considered martyrs!

MOOLRAJ may take his seat as a Baron of the Punjaub, whenever the "Hero of the coal hole" is admitted to canonization. MOOLRAJ has no pretensions whatever to be ranked among the Khalsa aristocracy. He was a mere kardar, and the son of a kardar. He was not even a landholder; and he had no stake in the country, beyond the profits of the province whose revenues he farmed. The stain of long premeditated independence—of years and years of silent and uncommunicated preparation for throwing off the yoke of his legitimate sovereign—rests upon the memory of SAWUN MULL; and MOOLRAJ inherited the treacherous intent;—together with the charge of the fortress, on whose fancied impregnability it was founded. A debauched Durbar with divided councils was too weak to remove the wealthy Bunyah, known to be prepared for war; but there was not one Sirdar, not one real 'Baron' of the Empire, nor one soldier in the Lahore Army, who did not consider the son of SAWUN MULL a 'Nimac Huram' at heart, long before the time when it was decreed that poor AGNEW and ANDERSON should prove it.

The struggle, foreseen by SAWUN MULL, has come to pass, but it has not realized his ambitious dreams. His son has rebelled as he taught him, but instead of making himself independent, he has merely riveted the chains of his country.

The Punjaub was quiet and fast becoming prosperous, when this firebrand kindled a conflagration which has consumed it. He has probably dethroned the dynasty under which his family emerged from insignificance to wealth and power.

And what perversion of terms and justice is this which would fain immortalise him as a hero, and is ready to weep over him as a victim if he is hanged ?

Such maudlin sentiment should be left to the circulating libraries, from which it originally sprung ; to the misses who languish over ' Jack Sheppard' in their beds; and the Duchesses who wreath bouquets for felons to wear at their execution.

The monuments to the memory of AGNEW and ANDERSON, who died for their country, are yet uncut—let it not be carved upon them that their murder was unrevenged.

Mooltan, March, 1849. ULTOR.

—Friend of India, April 12.]

MEMORANDUM OF THE TROOPS NOW STATIONED IN THE PUNJAUB AND JULLUNDHUR DOAB, AND ON THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER.

At Peshawur.

	Men.
2d Troop 2d Brigade Horse Artillery..	120
3d Troop Bombay Horse Artillery..	120
3d Co. 1st Batt. Foot Artillery (No. 17 light field battery)..	160
2d Co. 2d Batt. Foot Artillery..	100
2d and 4th Cos. 4th Batt. Foot Artillery..	200
2d Co. 1st Batt. Bombay Foot Artillery (No. 7 L. F. B.)	100
2d Co. Sappers..	100
1st Co. Bombay Sappers..	100
1st Regt. Light Cavalry..	500
13th Regt. Irregular Cavalry..	500
Detachment Scinde Irregular Horse..	500
H. M.'s 53d Foot..	900
H. M.'s 60th Rifles.	900
1st Bombay European Fusiliers	900
3d Bombay N I...	800
19th Bombay N. I..	850
Total..	6,840

[The Bombay Column now at Peshawur will of course shortly be withdrawn, but in this case their place will be taken by a similar number from the Bengal army]

At Mooltan.

4th Co. 2d. Batt Bombay Foot Artillery..	100
1st & 2d Cos. 4th Batt. Bo. Golundauze (No. 5 L. F. B.)....	200
1st Bombay Light Cavalry (Lancers)..	500
4th Co. Bo. Sappers	100
4 h Bo. N. I (Rifles)..	850
9th Bo. N. I...	850
Total..	2,600

At Attock.

6th Co. 7th Batt. Foot Artillery..	100
1st Co. Sappers..	100
31st N. I..	850
Total..	1,050

At Rawul Pindee.

4th Troop 2d Brig H A...	120
5th Co. Pioneers..	100
12th Irregular Cavalry..	500
H. M.'s 61st Foot..	800
13th, 22d, and 70th, N. I...	2,550
Total..	4,070

At Jhelum, or Nouruugabad.

2d Co. 7th Batt. Arty. (No. 6 L. F. B.)..	100
6th Co. Pioneers..	100
3d Irregular Cavalry..	500
29th and 69th N. I., ...	1700
Total..	2,400

At Seroke, near Wuzeerabad.

4th Troop 1st Brig. H. A.	120
4th troop 3d Brig. H. A.	120
1st Co. 1st Batt. Foot A. (No. 10 L. F. B.)	100
3d Co. 7th Batt. Foot A. (No. 5 L. F. B.)	100
4th and 7th Cos. Pioneers	200
H. M.'s 9th Lancers	600
5th Light Cavalry	500
7th Irregular Cavalry	500
H. M.'s 24th Foot	600
H. M.'s 29th Foot	800
15th, 25th, 53rd, and 60th, N. I.	3400
Total	7,040

At Lahore.

1st and 2nd troops 3d Brig. H. A.	240
1st, 3rd, and 4th, Cos. 2nd batt. Foot A.	300
1st Co. 5th batt. Foot A. (No. 11 L. F. B.)	100
6th Co. 8th batt. Foot A. (No. 15 L. F. B.)	100
3d Co. Sappers, and 1st Co. Pioneers	200
H. M.'s 14th Light Dragoons	450
6th Light Cavalry	500
14th Irregular Cavalry	500
H. M.'s 98th Foot	900
2d European L. I.	800
17th, 19th, 34th, 58th, and 61st, N. I.	4,250
Total	8,340

At Govindghur.

4th Co. 8th Batt. Foot Artillery	100
1st Regt. N. I.	850
Total	950

Grand Total in the Punjaub.... 33,290

ABSTRACT.

Horse Artillery, 7 troops (42 guns)	840
Foot Artillery, 18 companies (108 guns)	1,800
Sappers and Pioneers, 10 companies	1,000
European Dragoons, 2 regiments	1,050
Native Regular Cavalry, 4 regiments	2,000
Native Irregular Cavalry, 6 regiments	3,000
European Infantry, 8 regiments	6,600
Native Infantry, 20 regiments	17,000
Grand Total	33,290

In the Jullundhur Doab, and beyond the Frontier.

At Jullundhur.

1st Troop 1st Brigade H. A.	120
Head Quarters and 1st Co. 6th Batt. Foot A.	100
4th Co. 6th Batt. F. A. (No. 19 L. F. B.)	100
7th Light Cavalry	500
2d Irregular Cavalry	500
H. M.'s 32d Foot	800
4th, 37th, and 51st, N. I.	2,550

At Bhodee Pind.

71st N. I.	850

At Kurtarpoor.

10th Light Cavalry	500

At Mookeerean.

15th Irregular Cavalry	500

At Hajeepore.

29th Regt. N. I.	650

At Noorpoor.

Detachment 29th N. I.	200

At Hosheearpore.

2d Troop 1st Brig. H. A.	120
3rd and 28th N. I.	1,700
1st Regiment Seikh Infantry	1,000

At Kangra.

2nd Regiment Seikh Infantry	1,000

At Phullour.

23rd Regiment N. I.	850

At Mukkoo.

5th Irregular Cavalry (Head Quarters and Right Wing)	250
Total	12,290

ABSTRACT.

Horse Artillery, 2 troops (12 guns)	240
Foot Artillery, 2 companies (12 guns)	200
European Infantry, 1 regiment	800
Native Infantry, 10 regiments	8,860
Regular Cavalry, 2 regiments	1,000
Irregular Cavalry, 2½ regiments	1,250
Total	12,290

On and near the Frontier.

At Ferozepore.

3rd troop 2nd Brig. H. A.	120
3rd and 4th Cos. 3rd Batt. Foot A.	200
8th Light Cavalry	500
17th Irregular Cavalry	500
H. M.'s 10th Foot	800
18th, 32nd, 52nd, and 72d, N. I.	3,400
Total	5,520

At Loodhianah.

Head Quarters and 3rd troop 1st Brig. H. A.	120
3rd Co. 6th Batt. Foot A.	100
Head Qrs. Sappers and Pioneers, and 2nd and 3rd Cos. Pioneers	200
9th Irregular Cavalry	500
7th, 8th, and 46th, N. I.	2,550
4th Regt. Seikh Infantry	1,000
Total	4,470

At Umballah.

Head Qrs. and 1st troop 2nd Brig. H. A.	120
Head Qrs. and 1st Co. 4th Batt. Foot A.	100
3rd Co. 4th Batt. Foot A. (No. 7 L. F. B.)	100
H. M.'s 3rd Dragoons	500
11th Light Cavalry	500
H. M.'s 18th Royal Irish	900
2nd, 9th, and 45th, N. I.	2,550
3rd Regt. Seikh Infantry	1,000
Total	5,770

At Meerut.

Head Qrs. and 3rd troop 3rd Brig. H. A.	120
Head Qrs. 7th Batt. Foot A.	100
30th, 66th, and 73rd, Regts. N. I.	2,650
Total	2,870

At Delhi.

5th Co. 7th Batt. Foot A. (No. 13 L. F. B.)	100
41st, 42nd, and 50th, N. I.	2,550
Total	2,650

At Hansee.

11th Irregular Cavalry	500
Hurreeanah Light Infantry	1,000

At Moradabad.

36th N. I.	850

At Dhera.

Sirmoor Battalion	1,000

At Jutogh.

Nusseeree Battalion	1,000
Total	4,350

ABSTRACT.

Horse Artillery, 4 troops (24 guns)	480
Foot Artillery, 7 companies, (42 guns)	700
Sappers and Pioneers, 2 companies	200
European Dragoons, 1 regiment	500
Native Light Cavalry, 2 regiments	1,000
Native Irregular Cavalry, 3 regiments	1,500
European Infantry, 2 regiments	1,700
Native Infantry, 22 regiments	19,450
Total	25,530

GENERAL ABSTRACT OF ALL THE TROOPS IN THE PUNJAUB AND JULLUNDHUR DOAB, AND ON THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER.

	Men.
Horse Artillery, 13 troops (78 guns)..	1,560
Foot Artillery, 27 companies (162 guns)	2,700
Sappers and Pioneers, 12 companies	1,200
European Dragoons, 3 regiments	1,550
Native Regular Cavalry, 8 regiments	4,000
Native Irregular Cavalry, 11½ regiments	5,750
European Infantry, 11 regiments..	9,100
Native Infantry, 52 regiments...	45,250
Grand Total..	71,110

ROUTE FROM ROREE TO PESHAWUR VIA MOOLTAN AND RAMNUGGUR, AS MARCHED BY THE BOMBAY DIVISION OF THE ARMY OF THE PUNJAUB.—DISTANCE 760 MILES 6½ FURLONGS.

DATE.	NAMES OF PLACES.	DISTANCE. M.	F.	REMARKS.
1848.				
Nov. 27th	From Roree to Teeree-chanee.....	6	3	A small village of 60 houses on the right bank of the Indus.
28th	Chonga.....	9	0	A small village of 80 houses on one of the branches of the Indus.
29th	Hajee Mullodee.....	9	3	Village of 30 houses.
30th	Ghotkee.....	10	3	A large village.
Dec. 1st	Surhud.....	8	0	Village of 50 houses.
2nd	Bagodra.....	8	2	Do.....40 do.
3rd	Oobaura.....	13	1	Do..... 300 do., and 30 shops.
4th	Subzulcote.....	11	5	Large walled Town.
5th	Kathekee-bustee..... ...	13	0	Village of 25 houses.
6th	Nowshara.....	13	1	Large village & bazars.
7th	Sumaboo-gote...	14	4	Village of 200 houses, and 40 shops.
8th	Khunpoor...	17	3	Large village & bazars.
9th	Ditto.....	—	—	Halt.
10th	Mohemoodeekundee.... ...	16	2	Village of 100 houses, and 4 shops.
11th	Chowderee...	11	5	Few huts.
12th	Chaneekhan-ka-gote.....	11	2	Large village & bazars.
13th	Ahmedpoor.....	15	4	Do.....do.
14th	Mulcanee-bustee...	7	6	Small do., & few shops.
15th	Cross the Gara River to Polaudpoor.....	15	4	Do..... ....do.
16th	Ditto... ....ditto...	—	—	Halt.
17th	Jullalpoor.....	5	2½	Large village & bazars.
18th	Goweh.....	11	6½	Village of 50 houses, and 5 shops.
19th	Soojabad.....	16	1	Large walled town and bazars.
20th	Adhiwalabag.....	12	0	Village of 35 houses, and 8 shops.
21st	Soorujkund.....	7	0	Small village.
22d to 25th	Ditto.....	—	—	Halt.
26th	Seetulmaree, 1½ miles S. E. of Mooltan.....	6	4	In ruins.
27th & 28th	Ditto.....	—	—	Halt to the 2nd Feb.
	Total...	275	5	

1849.				
Feb.	2nd Camp near Syud-ka-gote to Alampoor....	14	5½	Village of 100 houses, and 10 shops.
	3rd Khokan.....	10	0½	Do..... ..do.
	4th Cross the Ravee River...	14	5½	
	5th Jelalpoor.....	12	0	Village of 100 houses, and bazars.
	6th Ditto.....	—	—	Halt.
	7th Shorekote.....	10	0½	Large village, and 50 shops.
	8th Kaiem.....	10	5½	Village of 100 houses, and 20 shops.
	9th Moolwana.....	14	0½	Village of 30 houses.
	10th Jung.....	12	2½	Large walled town.
	11th Khewa.....	13	2	Village of 100 houses, and 16 shops.
	12th Bhowanee.....	14	0	Do. 125 do. and 10 do.
	13th Bhookaree.....	14	0	Do. 100 do. and 10 do.
	14th Channiote.....	9	1	Once a large town, now deserted, on right bank Chenaub River.
	15th Shaik Kumir.....	10	3	Village of 140 houses, and 11 shops.
	16th Pindee Bhuttiandee.... ...	11	6½	Large village & bazar.
	17th Jellalpoor...	13	3½	A large walled town.
	18th Bureekee.....	16	7	Large village.
	„ Ramnuggur.....	13	5¼	Ditto.
	Total...	215	0¼	
	19th Jherwalee...	18	7	Village of 80 houses, 2½ miles across the Chenaub.
	20th Ditto.....	2	2	Order of Battle.
	21st Goojrat.....	7	0	Battle.
	22nd Sikarwalee.....	16	0	Village of 30 houses.
	23rd Khoree	12	1	
	24th Chuk-Sikunder.....	11	5	20 houses right bank of the Jhelum.
	25th Noorungabad.....	7	0½	200 houses on the Jhelum.
	26th Ditto.....	—	—	Halt.
	27th Rahpoor.....	6	7¼	Crossed one branch of the Jhelum, called the Seegutur.
	28th Ditto.....	—	—	Halt.
March	1st Ditto.....	—	—	Halt.
	2nd Cross 3 branches of the Jhelum River to Pukwal.	4	1	
	3rd Cross Grand River..... ...	4	4	
	4th Serai.....	1	2	About 1 M. 1 F. from Rotas fort, in a state of dilapidation.
	5th Soonta, near Adora.....	9	2	Road tolerable, with ravines, up to the next stage.
	6th Bukrala.....	9	1	

7th & 8th	Sawun Mull's Tank.....	11	0	A Pukka tank with a small river "Kassee."
9th	Pukka Serai.....	12	3	Cross the Kassee river 1 M. 4 F. to Pukka Serai.
10th & 11th	Munykyala Tope...	12	2	A large Tope.
12th & 13th	Hoormuck.....	10	2	On the bank of Sawan River.
14th	Rawul Pindee..... ...	8	0	Cross the Sawan River. Rawul Pindee, a large town and bazar.
15th	Janee-ke-Sung...	15	3	A village of 36 houses.
16th	Wah.....	14	4	Do..... ...200 do.
17th & 18th	Attock.....	30	5	A large fort on right bank Indus River.
19th	Ankora.....	11	0	A large village on Londa River.
20th	Nowshara.....	10	0	A large village.
21st	Ally Mardan's Garden....	24	5	Residency, 8 miles west of Peshawur.
	Total...	270	0¾	
	Grand Total.....	760	6½	

SCHOOLS OF INDUSTRY AND ECONOMIC MUSEUM FOR BOMBAY.

THE following is a prospectus of a couple of projects brought forward in the course of the year 1848, which, if they prosper according to their merits, may look for a very brilliant career indeed. The following are amongst the first of the subscribers who set down their names as contributors—neither scheme is as yet in operation :—

Names.	Schools. Rs.	Museum. Rs.	Total. Rs.
Lord Falkland.....	250	—	250
Sir Erskine Perry, Kt.....	100	50	150
Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Sons & Co.....	750	250	1000
J. Warden, Esq , C. S	100	50	150
Dadabhoy Pestonjee, Esq.....	125	125	250
Commodore Hawkins.....	15	10	25
H. Malet, Esq	15	15	30
J. Smith, Esq.....	20	—	20
A. Hadden, Esq.....	20	—	20
Natives, through A. Hadden, Esq.....	25	—	25
W. D. Robertson, Esq.....	100	—	100
A. Spens, Esq.....	50	—	50
Captain Hart	25	—	25
R Strong, Esq.....	30	—	30
H. Cormack, Esq.....	25	—	25
J. G. Lumsden, Esq.....	100	50	150
A. Forbes, Esq.....	100	—	100
J. Hadow, Esq.....	50	—	50
R. Remington, Esq.....	50	—	50
Dr Bremner.....	10	—	10
Major LeGrand Jacob.....	100	50	150
J. Dadabhoy, Esq.....	50	50	100
The Hon'ble J. P. Willoughby, Esq.....	100	50	150
Jugonnath Sunkersett, Esq.....	100	25	125
J. C. Stewart, Esq., Commercial Bank.....	25	25	50
Captain H. J. Barr.....	50	—	50
Sir Charles Forbes, Bart.....	1000	—	—
Rupees.....	3385	750	4135

SCHOOLS OF INDUSTRY.

It is scarcely yet three years since the Seminaries termed Ragged Schools were first established in England, and they are now to be found in almost every considerable town in the Empire. The original object they had in view was to impart a moderate measure of moral training and mental culture to the poor destitute children found about the streets without occupation; to afford them a small supply of food, and a temporary home during a portion at least of each day. Though the numbers which flocked to these seminaries was very great, and the good accomplished by them even in this state most gratifying, it was found that before they could be made to yield the full fruits desired of them they must be able to provide permanent places of residence for the inmates, who are now provided with food, clothing, and a home, and are instructed, not in reading and writing only, but in such handicrafts as may enable them to earn their bread. Ragged Schools, thus transformed into Schools of Industry, have now been taken under the patronage of Royalty, and are countenanced or assisted by all the illustrious, eminent, and good, in the land.

On the plan ultimately adopted at Home, the Schools of Industry desired to be introduced in Bombay have from the first been intended to be established. From the returns furnished by Government, it appears that there are on an average about *two hundred* young persons, under the age of fourteen, annually taken up by our police, and that about one-third of these are convicted and sentenced to punishment. The chief crime of the majority of these children seems to be destitution: they are orphans or outcasts, with no one to care for them: they are driven to steal from want, and, having been detected in some petty act of thieving, are sent to herde with older and more practiced culprits, until they become accomplished and hardened in guilt, and prepared for a life of crime. Besides those of whom we know, there must, in such a population as that of Bombay, be an enormous number of poor, destitute, neglected, and uninstructed, children, anxious to resort to such an establishment as that in contemplation, and to whom a temporary home, and the means of obtaining food and acquiring knowledge, until they could provide for themselves, would be an inconceivable blessing.

With ends such as these in view, it is proposed to establish Schools of Industry, for the reception of young persons of all descriptions, desiring to resort to them, and standing in need of public assistance. It is known that at Bombay these may be housed, clothed, and fed, for about Rs. 2½ per mensem each; and it is believed that in the third year of their residence in the School they would be able by their own industry to maintain themselves, and probably to contribute something to the support of the Establishment.

The Apprenticing Act, of which a Draft was published two years since, and which is now under the consideration of the Supreme Legislative Council, entitles the Trustees and Managers of Charity Schools to bind the orphans or other children under their charge, who are without natural representatives, Apprentices for a term of years, to any trade or profession that may seem most suitable: a clause is expected to be added, extending to the Judges of the Supreme Court and Magistrates of Police a similar power in reference to certain classes of children coming under their cognizance: and it is intended that by this means all young persons coming into our Schools of Industry shall be bound Apprentices for a term of years. By this means the Managers of the School will have a right to keep them in order, and to insist on their betaking themselves to study; and the pupils will be compelled to remain at School until they have reached the years of discretion, and attained proficiency in the art in which they have been instructed, so that, when sent out into the world, they may, from their skill and expertness, be able to command employment, and be capable of conducting themselves as good citizens.

When first taken in charge they will be instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and in the English tongue, by a Native teacher: and they then will have some variety of light work, such as boys may employ themselves in without unduly

taxing their faculties and strength; and by and bye they will be regularly trained by an European engineer.

The subject has already been under the notice of Government,* which undertook to provide a Superintendent from the Engineers of the Indian Navy, when at the time it was found that the party applied for could not be spared. There seems no reason to doubt but that so soon as an Engineer can be spared, one will be assigned to the SCHOOLS OF INDUSTRY, and that a well filled subscription list will afford the best evidence that can be given of the conviction of the community of the value of the scheme, and their anxiety to support it.

Charities such as this appeal to the best feelings of all men of all countries and creeds; they possess in them no element which can awaken controversy or give rise to difference of opinion. The Merciful and Bounteous Giver of all Good, to whom all men look up as to a Father, and by whom all are regarded as children, commands the members of His vast family to love, cherish, and assist, each other as

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* The following is a copy of the letters of Government on the subject. There is no reason to suppose Government less favorable than formerly to the scheme, or to doubt that so soon as the services of an Engineer can be spared one will be assigned:—

No. 3147 of 1847.—GENERAL DEPARTMENT.

To G. BUIST, *Esquire*, *L.L.D.*

SIR,—I am directed by the Hon'ble the Governor in Council to transmit for your information copy of a letter I have this day addressed to the Superintendent of the Indian Navy, respecting the "School of Industry" recently established by you in Bombay, and at the same time to intimate to you that Government is desirous of ascertaining what further aid it can judiciously afford to this infant Institution.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) J. G. LUMSDEN,
Secretary to Govt.

BOMBAY CASTLE, 17*th November*, 1847.

No. ——of 1847.—GENERAL DEPARTMENT.

To Commodore Sir R. OLIVER, *Knt*, *R. N*, *Superintendent of the Indian Navy.*

SIR,—I am directed by the Hon'ble the Governor in Council to acquaint you that a "Ragged or School of Industry" has recently been established in Bombay by Dr. BUIST, who proposes to make it an Asylum for some of the many destitute Orphans and vagrants now in the island: to feed and instruct them in such trades as may afford them the means of support, and prevent their becoming useless Members of Society, and in all probability a burden to the State.

2nd.—That Gentleman, however, has intimated to Government that his other avocations will not admit of his bestowing on the "School of Industry" all the attention its full development demands: he has therefore solicited the assistance of 2nd Class Engineer, Mr. R. ADIE, now employed on the *Sesostris*, as Superintendent or Instructor in this School.

3rd.—Of the good intent of such an Institution, I am directed to observe, there can be no doubt, and His Honor in Council considers it to be deserving of the countenance of Government, especially as the beneficial results which have attended similar establishments in Europe warrant the entertainment of strong hopes as to its ultimate success. In order, therefore, that proper and judicious care may be bestowed on this Infant Institution, the Hon'ble the Governor in Council is pleased to comply with the application of Dr. BUIST, and requests that you will have the goodness to place the services of Mr. ADIE at that Gentleman's disposal for the purpose indicated.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.
(Signed) J. G. LUMSDEN,
Secretary to Govt.

BOMBAY CASTLE, *November*, 1847.

(True Copy) (Signed) J. G. LUMSDEN,
Secretary to Govt.

No. 350 of 1847.—GENERAL DEPARTMENT.

To Dr. GEORGE BUIST, *L.L.D.*

SIR,—With reference to my letter (No. 3147) dated the 17th ultimo, regarding the services of Mr. ADIE, Second Class Engineer, being placed at your disposal for the purpose of being appointed Teacher of the School of Industry, I am directed by the Hon'ble the Governor in Council to acquaint you that the Superintendent of the Indian Navy has reported that Mr. ADIE cannot be spared from the Marine department.

2nd.—I am, however, desired to add, that Sir ROBERT OLIVER has been requested to report whether he can lend the services of one of the Country-trained Engineers for the promotion of the object which you have in view.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
J. G. LUMSDEN,
Secretary to Govt.

BOMBAY CASTLE, 23*d December*, 1847.

brethren journeying on the same path through the world ; and the effort to relieve the weak, the poor, the suffering, and the destitute,—to find protection for the fatherless, for the desolate a home and friends,—to supply information to the ignorant, and the means of honestly earning their bread to those who must steal to avert starvation,—and to rescue from destitution those who in early years have begun to stray from the paths of virtue,—is one on which no one can look with indifference, and which may reasonably expect a blessing.

The SCHOOLS OF INDUSTRY were originally intended to have formed a branch of the POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTION—the former to be organized after the workshops of the latter were filled with labourers : but circumstances having occurred to retard the operations of the INSTITUTE, it has been considered inexpedient longer to delay the establishment of the SCHOOLS OF INDUSTRY, which, with such measure of Public aid as may reasonably be looked for, seem perfectly sufficient to stand on their own resources.

THE MUSEUM.

THERE is scarcely a Capital in Europe in which there is not a Museum, or collection of rarities, maintained at the Public expense for the instruction and amusement of the people. The British Museum is maintained at the cost of above £40,000, entirely for public purposes; and no branch of the public expenditure is less begrudged by the nation.

Of late years a class of Museums has come into existence for the exhibition of such raw material—chiefly minerals—as become, when manufactured, subjects of merchandise, as well as of the numberless manufactures into which they are converted, with the implements and contrivances made use of in their conversion. Of these, the most distinguished in England is the Museum of Economic Geology in London, under charge of Sir H. de la Beche, on the premises intended for which Government have just expended the sum of £30,000 at a time when the public purse was sufficiently taxed to prevent any expense being incurred on what the nation was likely to consider as superfluous. Museums, either for general purposes similar to this, or for some particular class of objects, are common throughout the empire. In Edinburgh we have the Museum of the Highland Society, chiefly devoted to matters connected with rural economy, and the exhibitions of the Society for the Promotion of Arts and Manufactures ; while in London the United Services have their collection of objects of interest connected with war, whether by sea or land.

Besides these, we have in many of our larger towns exhibitions illustrative of the chief branches of industry in the empire. Of these the most notable are the Adelaide Gallery and Polytechnic Institution in London. In the Museum of Economic Geology already alluded to, are to be seen rocks, minerals, and metallic ores, of all descriptions, as taken from the earth. Next there are models of coal-fields and metallic veins, with the contrivances resorted to for drawing off the water and extracting the minerals from the mine. Next we have gems, marbles, and ornamental stones ; with every variety of building material prepared for use. Next are the objects of Art into which stones and clays are converted—such as bricks, tiles, earthern and pottery ware, porcelain, glass, crystal, enamels, imitations of stones, &c., with all the numberless forms into which metals are moulded or worked. In the other establishments are manufactures and implements of every description—the processes of transformation being in many cases in actual progress ; while models of steam engines, steam-boats, locomotives, railways, canals, bridges, and all sorts of machines and implements, give a clear and exact idea of the operations of the most important and interesting of the mechanical devices and contrivances which have characterized the progress, and assisted the advancement, of civilization in Europe.

In India, these things are just beginning to make their appearance. Hitherto our only Museums have been those maintained by our Learned Societies. We have now the Museum of Economic Geology at Calcutta : a Museum is in process of organization in connection with the Polytechnic Institute at Madras ; another in connection with the College at Agra ; a third in the Nizam's Dominions, under the supervision of the Residency Surgeon, Dr. McLean.

The establishment of a Museum for the purpose of providing amusement and instruction to the community,—comprising on a small scale within itself the leading principles of all those enumerated,—has for some time past been in contemplation; and the arrangements already made for its organization have at once shewn with how much facility, and at how moderate a charge, it might be established.

In this might be arranged all varieties of materials found in the East capable of being employed in merchandise or converted into manufactures; all varieties of contrivances and machines made use of in converting them; and specimens of every variety of manufactured goods obtained from these, our bazaars supply. Each of these to be accompanied with full and minute descriptions of the qualities and uses of the objects exhibited, the places supplying, and means of obtaining them; the means resorted to for transforming them and preparing them for use; the prices they brought, and places where they were mostly in demand.

In addition to these, coins, medals, antiquities,—objects of vertu and art,—specimens of animals, alive or stuffed,—models of wind and water-mills, steam-engines, steam boats, locomotive-engines, railways, canals, chain-bridges, with all the other contrivances on which the skill of the chemist or engineer is expended,—would find a place in the Museum or the grounds adjoining.

Shows and spectacles are in all quarters of the world sought after with avidity, and enjoyed with relish, by the young, the excitable, or untutored mind: and nowhere is this more remarkably the case than in India, where so vast a proportion of minds are untutored. The hundreds of families flocking weekly to the Gardens of the Agricultural Society, and the tens and twenties of thousands visiting the steamers, when in dock, of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company.—when such things were scarcely at all resorted to by Europeans,—shew that the Native mind is sufficiently susceptible of gratification from spectacles of a much more instructive and intellectual nature than the bazaar supplies.

The great object of the Museum would be to attract, by interesting and amusing, and to stimulate enquiry and impart a thirst for knowledge or some measure of actual information, while it gratified and amused.

It would be at all times open, free of charge, to all who chose to resort to it, and on holidays, or seasons of special resort, spectacles would be prepared of more than usual interest and attractiveness, alike for the Native as for the European visitor.

Though this has no direct or indispensible connection with the Schools of Industry, it would form a valuable and inexpensive adjunct to them,—in which the pupils would find both amusement and instruction—preparing, or keeping in order, a large portion of the objects of exhibition with their own hands—the Museum serving as a sale or exhibition-room for the showier portions of the work turned out by them; while the eye of the Public at large would, by the same means, be constantly and closely directed towards the operations of the Schools of Industry and progress of the pupils.

The same management would serve for both, and the verandah or the great room where the objects of interest were exhibited might serve as a workshop, school, or sleeping place for the children while their numbers were few, and while subjects for the Museum were being collected.

Already there are some thousands of specimens ready to be placed at the disposal of the Museum free of charge: and the party intended to be entrusted with its arrangements has already had large experience in the establishment and maintenance of such things, and sees no difficulty whatever in making that now in contemplation so attractive as to become in a short time a place of general resort.

Like the Schools of Industry, the Economic Museum was intended to have been an adjunct to the Polytechnic Institute,—but from the interest manifested by a considerable section of the Native Community in its establishment, it has been considered expedient not to wait for the completion of the arrangements of the Institute, there being every reason to believe that it could at once be brought into existence independently.

METEOROLOGICAL RESEARCHES OF THE BOMBAY GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

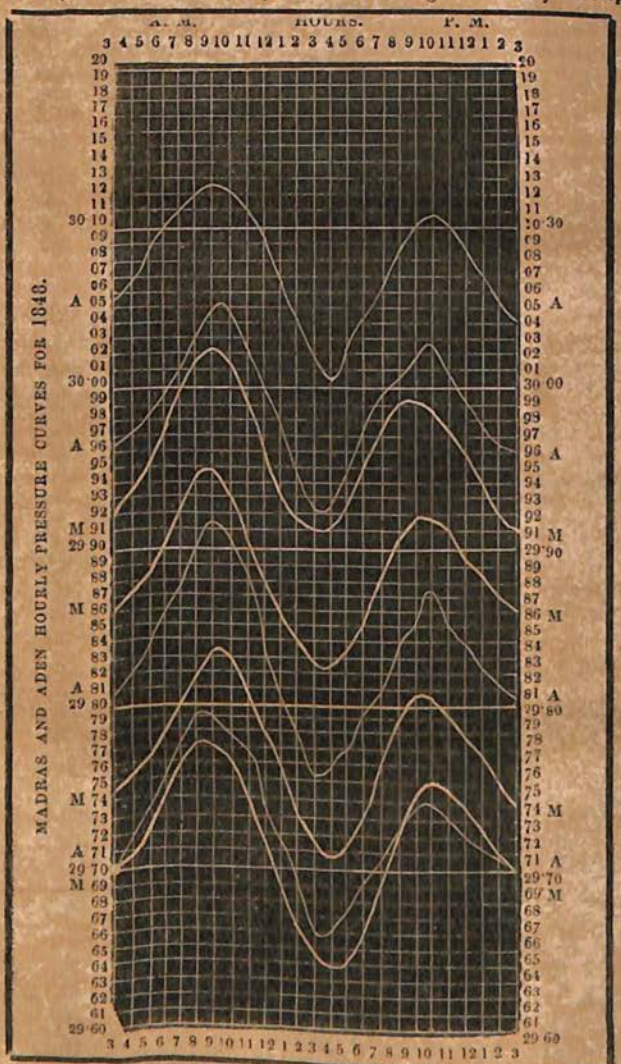
[Having been compelled to substitute a few short scientific notices for what we intended to have been a sort of history of Physical Research in India, the following may not perhaps be considered out of place.]

The Bombay Geographical Society came into existence at a period when a remarkable degree of activity began to prevail throughout the world in the prosecution of enquiries in Physical Geography, and its able and enlightened founders resolved largely to share in what was then the favorite study of the day. Having provided themselves with magnetic and meteorological instruments, they set about attempting to determine with precision the climate of Bombay; and though it does not appear that they at this time had any view of endeavouring to establish other observatories under their own immediate charge, they resolved to encourage others to observe—to supply instruments where these were wanted, and to avail themselves to as large an extent as possible of the researches of amateurs. The investigation of the climate of Bombay does not, so far as the records show, appear to have been proceeded with—the cause of the failure is not known; but the transactions are rich in observations at other points which only required to be collected in sufficient abundance, and to be compared with some point of reference, for the purpose of generalization. Such a point as that desired first made its appearance in 1842, when the meteorological and magnetic observatory was fairly established at Colaba. The operations of this establishment having for a time been interrupted, the records of an entire year of continuous observation were first completed in September 1843; when, as a second year was proceeded with, it became apparent that the phenomena of climate here were so marked and so beautifully uniform, that the records of one year would almost suffice in times of tranquillity for the observations of another, and that, therefore, the anomalies at the spot were the things that required from thenceforth chiefly to be attended to. Now came the time for extending the investigations the Society had from the beginning had in contemplation, when a somewhat more systematic and comprehensive plan might be adopted, and more extended and varied results might be looked for.

For the information of the general reader it may be shortly explained, that in meteorology the first point generally attended to is the pressure of the atmosphere by which at the level of the sea a column of mercury from 29 to 30 inches long can be supported at every quarter of the world. This is determined by the well-known instrument called the *Barometer*, or measurer of weight. At the Equator the pressure is somewhat less than at the higher latitudes. At Melville Island, in Lat. 74° N, it is 29.370; at Ingloobeck, lat. 69°, it is 29.770; and at Winter Island, 66° N., it is 29.798. At Plymouth it is 29.9; and at Bombay, 19° N., it is 29.860. At the equator it is 29.971; 13° S., 30.016; 43° S, 29.950; from this decreasing rapidly to the southward, till at latitude 66°, when it is no more than 29.078. The cause of this remarkable decrease in the southern latitudes, remains to be explained, and all information regarding it is of the very highest interest.

The Barometer in the higher latitudes is so sensibly affected by the weather, that its prognostications as a weather glass are of the highest value, scarcely a farmhouse in England being without an instrument of this sort. Between the tropics it moves sensibly on the approach of change, but to a very small extent: at home a fall of three inches would scarcely excite more surprise, or occasion greater alarm, than a fall of three tenths of an inch in the torrid zone. Throughout the world the barometer has two daily tides, being highest at 10 A. M. and P. M. nearly, and lowest at 3 A. M. and 4 P. M. nearly. At home the fluctuation rarely exceeds the hundredth part of an inch, and is so masked and concealed by the larger irregularities due to the weather, that it requires the means of a vast

number of observations to enable us to detect it at all: at Bombay, during the fair season the daily fluctuation constantly exceeds the tenth of an inch—it is so regular in its form that the curve of a single day might serve for the mean of the month, and so punctual in the time of its arrival that a watch might be set by it without material error. The following diagram will at once place the matter before the reader's eye in a form more perspicuous and intelligible than any description:—



MADRAS AND ADEN HOURLY PRESSURE CURVES FOR 1848.

THE months are grouped together according to their relations. The means of November, December, and January, or the cold season months, making one curve: February, March, and April, or the spring months, a second: May, June, and July, the summer months, a third—forming the lowest group: August, September, and October, a fourth. We are indebted for the abstracts on which these are constructed, to Lieutenant K. WORSTER, of the Madras Artillery, presently in charge of the Observatory, who supplied all the information asked for the moment he was applied to; and to the papers of the Bombay Geographical Society. The Madras rainy season begins in July, that of Bombay in June: rain rarely ever falls at Aden. we have not been able to obtain access to the Bombay registers—none have been published since 1845: judging from these, however, and those preceding them, we should expect to find the Bombay curves for 1848 exactly similar to those at Madras. So are the Calcutta curves now before us, but for which we have no room at present.

The light lines marked A at the extremities, indicate the pressure curves at Aden in Arabia near the mouth of the Red Sea, as taken by the observatory under Mr MOYES, established at the recommendation of the Geographical Society, and now superintended by them—the months arranged in the same groups as in the case of Madras, which are marked M.

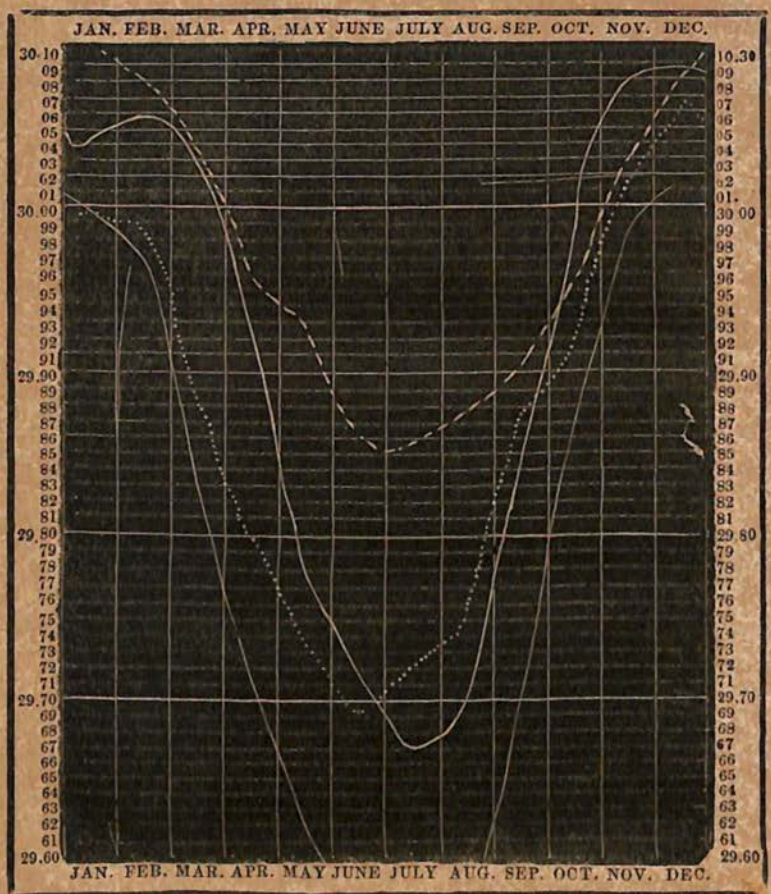
Besides this daily fluctuation, the height of the barometer varies with the greatest regularity at different seasons of the year, and is generally highest near the shortest, and lowest about the longest, day,—and this without any relation to the wetness or dryness, the storminess or tranquillity, of the season. At Madras, as at Bombay, for example, it reaches its minimum in June and its maximum in December, though at the former place the weather during the firstnamed month is dry and steady, during the last it is showery and wet,—the heaviest of our rains occurring here in June, and our steadiest weather in December. The same law holds pretty nearly at Aden, where no rain falls for long periods of years; and so probably throughout the torrid zone. The daily tide or fluctuation makes its appearance with the same regularity in wet and stormy as in dry and steady weather, and at all seasons of the year alike, only the fluctuation decreases by about a half when the mean altitude of the mercury is least.* The following diagrams will illustrate what is stated:—

The two dotted lines represent the Madras mean curves for each month in the year—the lower is for 1848—the upper is from results by the late Mr TAYLOR—I do not know how attained.

The strong line is the Aden curve, the fine one that for Calcutta—both for 1847. The Calcutta barometer is eighteen feet above the sea, the Madras one

* The above is not to be accepted as strictly and uniformly true, but it would occupy too much space to enumerate the exceptions—which hardly however invalidate the law. Toronto in Canada is one of the most notable of these.

twenty-five—neither has been corrected for level: the Aden curve has been corrected to mean tide—the barometer is 187 feet above the sea.



Yearly Curves for Madras, Aden and Calcutta. The first of these is in dotted lines—Calcutta runs down below the block, to ·512 for June, ·526 for July, and ·566 for August.

The great decrease of pressure as we proceed towards the Antarctic has been noticed as amongst the things requiring to be explained: the fact that the daily fluctuation is very nearly as great at the elevation of 5,000 feet—or, so far as we know, at any greater elevation,—where the total pressure is 25 inches,—as at the level of the sea, where it is 30, is amongst the meteorological perplexities which still require solution.

Besides these two grand classes of movements, due to the hour of the day or time of the year, there is a third of the deepest interest, which is now in process of examination in Europe, and which, from the extreme regularity of the seasons in

India, we are much better situated for examining than they are beyond the tropics. A general progressive fall and subsequent rise is found to take place in the mercury all over Europe at different places in succession, as if mighty waves of air, like the long swell of the sea after a storm, were sweeping over the upper surface of our atmosphere, following each other in solemn and stately march, and crossing each other at intervals. Though these general laws obtain with the most astonishing regularity, there are numberless minor variations requiring to be watched with the strictest attention, with a view to their explanation. There is a slight variation of some minutes as to the time when the turning points are attained, and as yet we are ignorant whether this is at all times the same in corresponding months of different years, or whether it is uniform at different points on the earth's surface. At Robbin Island, Cape of Good Hope, the diurnal oscillation is much less than on the mainland, and in place of recovering in the evening from the afternoon depression, a further though trifling fall in the mercury takes place.* Captain HAINES as far back as 1844 had observed a remarkable discrepancy betwixt the barometers at Steamer Point and the Camp at Aden,—yet the distance is only four miles; and the pressure-curve of Seerah Island, close off the shore, is far less smooth and symmetrical than the curves supplied by the Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay observatories. At Aden there is a departure from the law, which seems to obtain in nearly all parts of India,—the maximum depression for the year occurring—not in January but—in February, the minimum in July instead of June. It is much the highest in December, but makes a plunge down in January to recover itself again in February, and so afterwards descending regularly to its minimum. This at all events has obtained uniformly for three years, and we should therefore infer it to be the rule—it is quite possible it may be attended with exceptions. We have certain classes of disturbances, again, which are preceded by a rise in the barometer: then follows a fall, and then the mercury jumps up all at once when the wind is at its wildest. Whether these belong to any peculiar class or sub class, or are merely affected to this extent by incidental circumstances, remains to be determined. There are doubtless other discrepancies which will by and bye make their appearance, all following a law not yet eliminated.

To determine the various essentials of climate, the temperature and the wetness of the air, the heat of the sun, the aspect of the sky, the character of the clouds, and direction and force of the wind, are all essential, and formed of course part of the Society's scheme. At Bombay a self-registering tide-gauge was put up at Colaba, which recorded by clock-work the rise and fall of the tide at every hour and minute of the day. We have not only the ordinary rise and fall due to the influence of the sun and moon, but by connecting the means together we have a fine annual curve swelling up as the waters of the ocean are pressed to the northward by the south east monsoon. The character of our tides once determined here, it became of much importance to ascertain at what rate they swept along our shores, and what was the altitude they attained at different points during the different seasons of the year. Strange irregularities were known to exist in the Gulphs of Cutch and Cambay, and might be expected to be met with at the mouths of the Persian Gulf and Red Sea, and the peculiarities of these formed special subject of interest and investigation.

The Society, reflecting on these things, resolved to apply to Government to provide instruments for the establishment of small local observatories for the purpose of tidal and meteorological observation at Vingorla, Porebunder or Mandavie, Kurrachee, and Aden,—a well-organized establishment already existing at Bombay. The application was at once complied with, but the working out and supervision of the scheme was for a time estranged from the Society, and up to the present moment the Aden observatory is the only one in full operation. In 1845, H. M 's Lords of the Admiralty were applied to for assistance: it was now proposed to extend the number of observatories from four to twelve, and their Lordships

* Report of the Meteorological Committee of the South African Literary and Philosophic Institution, January 1836. The objects of the Institution seem very closely allied to those of the Bombay Geographical Society.

at once granted £350 for the purchase of instruments—the other charges were to devolve on the local Government; the Society to work out and superintend the scheme, and publish the results in their transactions. In 1847 the supervision originally contemplated by the Society was restored to it—their operations were to commence with the 1st of January 1848, and Government now most liberally undertook the expense of publication, which it was feared might press too heavily on the funds of the Society. Besides this, the British Association had meanwhile (1847) applied to the Court of Directors for a continuation of the tidal researches which had many years before been conducted on the other side of India; and in 1848 it was reported that on this point full instructions had been given the local Government. The scheme was now, as originally intended, in the hands of the Society, who at once set about its execution with becoming zeal. Besides the establishment of regular observatories along the whole line of coast from Ceylon to Suez, the Society expected to derive the most valuable aid from amateur observers.

India is sprinkled over with military stations: wherever there is an hospital, registers are duly kept for the service of the Medical Board, and there is scarcely a station of any magnitude where officers are not to be found in abundance most anxious to pursue any branch of intellectual research that may be suggested, and ready to make their exertions available to science. The officers of the Indian Navy —navigating vessels and constantly moving about in all directions from Suez to the Persian Gulf, along the shores of Africa, Arabia, and both sides of the Peninsula of India South to the Line and East as far as China—have always held the most honorable place amongst the promoters of physical research; and the extent to which they had beforehand contributed to other departments of geography led the most sanguine expectations to be formed of the aid they were likely to afford in this. The port of Bombay, besides, is frequented by vessels trading with nearly every quarter of the world, and for the most part commanded by men of great ability and zeal in all matters bearing on their profession; and as most ships are on all occasions provided with a certain supply of instruments, and in the habit of keeping a sort of meteorological register, all that seemed necessary to convert every vessel, the Commander of which seemed willing to give assistance, into an observatory, was to see the rating of its instruments attended to, and to have the registers kept in such a form as seemed most desirable. Free access to the logs of all our vessels was expected as a matter of course, as in these a vast amount of important information is generally to be found,—which, when the various extracts are compared together, is often of the utmost value and interest. It was by this species of investigation, since so admirably turned to account by Mr. PIDDINGTON and others, that Colonel REID originally discovered the great law of Whirling Storms or Cyclones; and if the movements of the most steady of our breezes, such as our Trade winds, our monsoon and our land and sea breezes, as well as the most furious of our tempests, can be shown to obey the most rigid laws of motion, and to operate with the utmost harmony, order, and beauty, a strong presumption arises that the progress of all our aerial currents everywhere may be laid down with similar exactitude and system. Lieutenant MAURY, of the U. S. Navy, has constructed, and is constructing, wind charts for the Atlantic, by attention to which vessels may reach their destination with comparative certitude and celerity. The late Captain YOUNG, of the Indian Navy was engaged in the same promising task when he was lost at sea: and if we have succeeded in mapping out the currents of the ocean, in laying down the dip and direction of the needle, and the intensity of magnetic force all over the globe, the investigation of the laws of the winds, so deeply affecting the interests of commerce, and in reference to which every ship that sails can supply her contingent of information, would seem a comparatively easy, as it must prove a most important, work.

The tides and local currents in our gulphs and larger estuaries—the temperature and depth of these and of the great ocean itself, and the relative temperatures at different depths, form subjects of the deepest interest. It appeared, indeed, that in a climate such as India, where the heat for the greater part of the day renders

exercise or amusement out of doors impossible—where those not engaged in office daily have a large portion of leisure at their disposal—where the whole European community belong to the well educated or upper classes of society,—every ship and steamer, every collector's office and military hospital, every garrison and cantonment, might, with suitable instruments and instructions, a point of reference, and the means of publication such as the Society proposed to provide, be made to supply its regular contingent of information in physical geography, and to take a formal and valuable share in the general labour: so far as matters have yet proceeded, these anticipations appear to have been by no means too elevated or sanguine.

Each fixed observatory was intended to be provided with a self-registering wind and rain-gauge—this being fitted up as a tide-gauge for those near the sea,—with a good barometer and two pairs of thermometers: and these amongst them for ordinary purposes were expected to suffice. Once a month (on the 22nd,) or oftener if convenient, all the instruments, especially the barometer, were to be read every hour for twenty-four hours on end, commencing at 3 A. M.; throughout the rest of the month readings at ½ to 10 A. M., 4 P. M., and 10 P. M., being the points of greatest and least pressure, were all that was desired. It was too much to expect amateurs to rise at 3 A. M., to read the instruments for the morning minimum, however desirable observations on the subject might be considered; and the twenty-four hour readings would determine the matter with as great an approximation to accuracy as could be looked for. The more observations that could be supplied at regular and stated intervals, the better; and when any unusual appearances were observed, or atmospheric perturbations apprehended, the instruments were expected to be read hourly at least for as long a period as this could be overtaken—if possible, indeed, till a state of repose returned.

The observers, besides having journals of scale-readings, are provided with tables and schedules for making their own reductions, as well as for diagramizing the results of their observations. The performance of these tasks by the observers themselves involves them in but a small amount of labour at the time, and is troublesome only when allowed to accumulate: it places before them at once the laws desired to be eliminated, and so interests the understanding in the work of the hands, while it indicates errors and points to corrections which might otherwise have remained unnoticed, and which can only be dealt with satisfactorily at the time the observation is made and by the party who makes it.

One of the most beautiful discoveries in physical geography we have lately seen noticed is that mentioned by Mrs. Somerville in reference to the Temperature of the Sea. There is, it would appear, from the Pole to the Equator, a level at and beneath which the waters of the ocean always maintain an uniform temperature, scarcely rising above or falling below 39·5° of Fahrenheit's scale. The depth of this varies according to the latitude: at the equator it is 7200 feet; at 56° it rises to the surface, the temperature of the sea being from top to bottom uniform: from this towards the pole the sea is warmest at bottom,—the ice-cold water and ice-bergs floating above. This striking fact, which was indicated by Kolzebue, was established by Sir John Ross; and now that it has been ascertained by observation, it seems strange that it should not have long since been pointed at from theory. It is dependent on the fact that water in process of cooling acquires its maximum density betwixt 39 and 40°: down to this it contracts with considerable regularity—beyond this it expands until it reaches the freezing point, when it assumes the form of ice, and all at once greatly encreases in bulk, so that solid masses congealed always float upon the surface. The ends subserved by this law are as numerous as beautiful. Were water to contract regularly down to 32°, the polar ocean would throughout its whole mass be always at the freezing point, and would by the slightest accession of cold be solidified throughout. Ice conducts heat so slowly and feebly that the ocean once consolidated could never again be thawed; and the polar seas, now abounding in living things in proportion as the lands around are devoid of them, would be like so much impenetrable rock. As

it is, the lower portions of icebergs and floes of ice are subjected to constant wearing away, from the warmer fluid beneath, till liberated from the regions in which they were produced, and in which, but for this, they must have remained anchored immoveably for ever, they are dispersed by regularly established currents into the warmer latitudes to temper and mitigate the heat which dissolves them.

This of course can only apply to the great ocean itself, the waters of which communicate freely with either pole, but the same principle operates everywhere, and it would be curious and most interesting to know what law obtains in the Bay of Bengal, or Great Arabian Sea, both opening towards the Equator, but cut off at about Lat. 25° from communication with the colder regions. How this again is modified in the Red Sea, Persian Gulf, the Gulf of Cutch, &c. The influx of waters through the Straits of Gibraltar to supply the excessive evaporation over the southern shores of the Mediterranean, and the efflux from the Baltic by the Great and Little Belt from an excessive supply of river water, have furnished subjects of the most interesting speculation. How do matters stand in the Red Sea, the Gulfs of Acaba and Suez, surrounded by four thousand miles of arid shore from which not one single drop of water is ever discharged? Were the engineer to take a bucketfull of water from the ship's side every three hours when he has the thermometer and hydrometer in use at any rate for determining the gravity of the water in his boilers, he might, by the like means and the use of the same instruments, ascertain the temperature and saltness of the surface of the sea. Such occupations as these, so far from interfering with his duties on shipboard, would occupy the mind and keep it in a state of activity, while it lightened the tedium and alleviated the ennui of a tiresome and protracted cruize. How stand matters in the Persian Gulf, where the Tigris and Euphrates may in part at least be expected to compensate the loss? These seas are chiefly traversed by our ships and steamers, and the officers and engineers of the latter in particular are already provided with all the instruments required for such investigations, and familiar with their use. The evaporation must be enormous over a surface of water varying from 75° to 85°, where a fresh breeze blows and the air is so arid that there is frequently a difference of 25° betwixt the wet and dry thermometers.

For carrying out the operations thus generally sketched, and preparing for the press and superintending the publication of the results of these in the most pleasing and interesting form that could be devised, the following gentlemen were appointed members of a Committee on Physical Research:—the Deputy Quarter-master-General (Major HOLLAND,) Chairman; the Deputy Superintendent of the Indian Navy (then Captain LYNCH, now Captain ETHERSEY,) the Officer in charge of the Colaba Observatory (Commander MONTRIOU,) the Professor of Natural Philosophy ELPHINSTONE College (Mr. PATTON,) the Professor of Chemistry GRANT College (Dr. GIRAUD,) the Naval Instructor Indian Navy (Mr. WATERSTON,) and the Secretary to the Society (Dr. G. BUIST.) The papers on these subjects were, to avoid delay, to appear in the Appendices to the Society's Transactions, to be afterwards collected together in a separate volume when the researches had advanced far enough to permit of this.

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